WORLD REVIEW

THE JOURNAL OF THE FEDERAL UNION CLUB

Incorporating

Volume VIII. No. 4 *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *January, 1940*

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
NEVERTHELESS—	*Vernon Bartlett*	3
THE MONTH	.. ..	10
FEDERAL UNION	.. ..	18
BEFORE THE LAST MAN DIES	*Cartoon*	23
THE PROBLEM OF SECESSION	*Patrick Ransome*	24
PEACE ANGELS UP-TO-DATE	*Cartoon*	28
THE HUMANITIES		
THE LOST ART	*Simon Harcourt-Smith* ..	29
THE THEATRE IN WARTIME	.. ..	33
THE FEDERAL UNION CLUB	.. ..	35
THE COSMOPOLITAN	*Raymond Mortimer*	36
MUSIC TO-DAY	*Keith Douglas*	37
BOOK REVIEWS	.. ..	37
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	*Letters from Kingsley Martin, Lord Esher, Lord Strabolgi, Donald Alexander* ..	41
FEDERAL UNION DEVELOPMENTS	*Charles Kimber*	45
THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES		
THE FÜHRER'S FÜHRER	*Bruno Altmann, "Die Neue Weltbühne," Paris* ..	46
SAVED BY STALIN	*Willi Münzenberg, "Die Zukunft," Paris*	52
INSIDE ITALY	*Rome Correspondent, "Die Weltwoche," Zürich* ..	55
INDIA: BRITAIN'S ACID TEST	*"The New Republic," New York*	60
FAR EASTERN MOVES	*A. Morgan Young, "Far Eastern Service," London* ..	62

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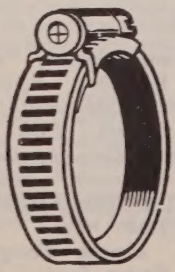

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WITH the first 1940 issue, WORLD REVIEW becomes the official journal of the Federal Union Club, an organisation which has been founded to promote the free discussion of the idea of Federal Union as a means of maintaining civilisation. For four years WORLD REVIEW has been the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles on international affairs from all over the world. We shall continue, so far as war conditions permit, to give space for THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. Vernon Bartlett will continue to express his views as frankly as he pleases on current topics, and a section of the magazine will remain open to diverse opinions from contributors. We hope that, while the retention of these features will encourage our old readers to continue their support, they will find added interest in the discussion of Federal Union in these pages, and will be joined by the already large body of supporters of the movement who are linked in groups throughout the country.

NEVERTHELESS—

by VERNON BARTLETT

THIS number marks one more step in the history of this review. Five and a half years ago we began the publication of *World*. In its first number I wrote: "Acute nationalism will either collapse or lead to war. In both cases the more we know of our neighbours the better. . . . It is the earnest hope of those of us who are connected with this new review that it will help its readers to retain breadth of mind and sanity of judgment at a time when almost every appeal is to intolerance and mistrust, prejudice and hatred."

We progressed. The *Review of Reviews,* which had had among its editors two such famous journalists as W. T. Stead and Wickham Steed, disappeared from the bookstalls, and our title changed to *World Review of Reviews.* Why not be more ambitious? we asked ourselves, and we became *World Review.* We tried, with varying courage and varying

success, to live up to our promise that we would help our readers to retain breadth of mind and sanity of judgment, but with each new blow to the principle of collective security—without which there could be, and can be, no lasting peace—our promised detachment and tolerance became more difficult to maintain. These dictators were trampling upon the ideals for which we had fought in the last war.

"Dictators," I wrote in that first editorial, "whose appeal is not partly to narrow nationalistic prejudices do not yet exist. The conception of international government is, relatively speaking, so new that it could not hope to overcome, in fifteen years or so, the prejudices and traditions of nationalism strengthened by the ready acceptance of dictatorship. The machinery remains, a little battered and rusty, but still capable of functioning when the time comes round for it to do so."

Well, acute nationalism has led to war. The machinery for maintaining peace is far more battered and rusty, but it is still there. Even during the last few weeks delegates of the great majority of nations have been passing through the streets of Geneva to discuss what they can and should do to help a small nation that has been attacked by a great one. Tragic ghosts, these, of predecessors such as Briand and Stresemann, but significant none the less, since their fumbling effort to set a rusty piece of machinery in motion has brought to Geneva belligerents in the strangest but the most ruthless of all wars.

When hostilities began it seemed as though this review must close down. Of what use to go on in a fresh era of "intolerance and mistrust, prejudice and hatred"? We discussed the problem from every angle. Falling advertisements and rising costs. The difficulty of obtaining foreign papers, without which we must fail in our principal mission of giving the other nation's point of view. And the depressing reflection that the disaster against which we had raised our warning voice month after month had overwhelmed us. It seemed so much easier to fade as gracefully as possible out of the picture than to struggle towards the foreground in order to be in a position to remind people that, sooner or later, they would once again be faced with the age-long problem of making peace. And when I say making peace, I mean making peace. Whether our Government's delegation will go to the conference—when it comes—in a vengeful or a conciliatory mood, no man can yet say. But at the conference or after it there will have to be fresh discussions and

"Haagsche Courant," The Hague
JOHN BULL CONTROLS NEUTRAL SHIPPING

fresh decisions about the machinery for the prevention of war. No conference which fails to discuss and decide about that amounts to more than a conference on the terms of an armistice.

The League machine did not fail, because it was never really tried out. The most important event of these twenty-one years of uneasy truce has been the enforcement of sanctions by some fifty governments in the hope of preventing a great power from bullying a little one off the map. But it failed because the machine was driven up a mountain of prejudice and tradition at half throttle. Or, to change the metaphor, it failed because we told Mussolini that we must regretfully take police action against him because he had broken the international law, but that if there were any particular form of action he disliked (such as an embargo on oil supplies) then we would not enforce it.

The People Lead

Throughout the League's history, phrases about a nation's "vital interests" and "national rights" have been dragged out of their dusty pigeon-holes by timid politicians and jealous diplomats. The peoples have never been consulted, and on the rare occasions when they have insisted on making their voice heard—against the Hoare-Laval compromise, for example—they have urged respect for law even at the cost of risks and sacrifices. The peoples, in other words, are much more interested in collective security than in national sovereignty. And of this there could be no better proof than the widespread interest aroused by the idea of Federal Union, popularised by my old friend Clarence Streit, an American journalist who watched, with me, the decay of the democratic system in Italy in 1921 and 1922, and the rise and fall of the League of Nations before and after that turning-point in history, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

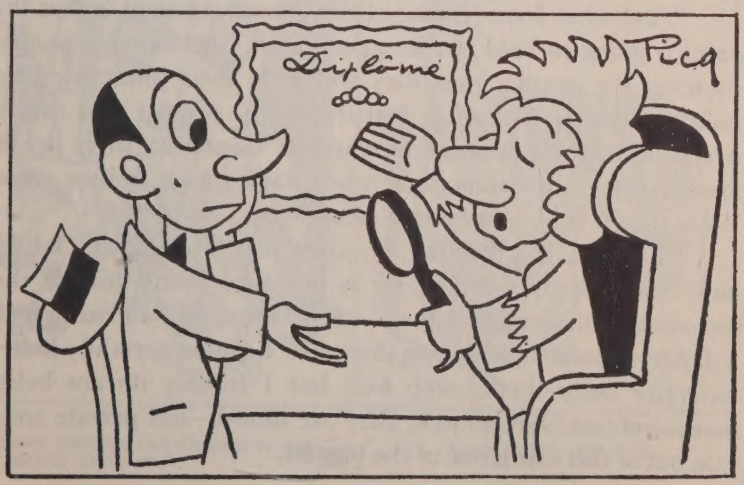
And so it comes about that this review takes an important fresh step. It is not going to close down merely because the world has entered upon another period of "intolerance and mistrust, prejudice and hatred." It will continue to exist in order, during that period, that it may help its readers "to retain breadth of mind and sanity of judgment." With this issue it becomes the official organ of the Federal Union Club.

Which means what? It means that, since no man can foretell the exact nature of the next machine to be constructed in the hope of abolishing war, we want to provide a forum in which blue prints of the machine can be discussed, and possibly drafted. Are people ready to surrender national sovereignty to the extent implied in talk of federal

union? Can the present League Covenant be modified so that fatal handicaps to its efficient working are removed? Is it better still to support a League of Nations despite the blame and ridicule poured upon it by politicians and editors anxious to shift their own responsibilities? Or is it better to start off with a new label on the bottle? Or is there, in the Federal Union idea, something so fresh that the contents of the bottle as well as the label would be new? Personally I am opposed to dogmatic judgments so early in a war which may completely change the whole structure of society, but I am in favour of free discussion between men and women who, like myself, would consider life had lost most of its flavour if they had to abandon the struggle to make it more secure, more contented, more full of opportunity for the great masses of people whose struggle for a livelihood leaves them so little time in which to express their thoughts.

"We Accuse . . ."

The rest of this article will be written by a woman I have never met. We began to correspond years ago when there seemed such opportunities for the League, and its failure has affected her as it has affected thousands of others. That is why I have sub-edited her private letter to me—she speaks for such a large section of the public and her criticisms must be met and answered.



AT THE CLAIRVOYANTE'S

"Sorry, I can't read your hand. Three lines have been censored."

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

"Don't you see the mistake I made? I thought it was *our* League. I did not know it was merely a competitive 'League of Foreign Offices' as Wells so aptly puts it somewhere or other. It is the failing of ordinary people to start these activities without sufficient knowledge. I remember I had the temerity to disagree with Mr. Wells when he pointed out that the League would not succeed because it was not a League of *Peoples*; I know better now.

Change Must Come

"And I know also that only an education of clear thinking for the people will prevent powerful interests in high places juggling with their lives again. . . . What do *we* get from the diplomatic wranglings of statesmen? There would not be an earthquake in the universe if the British and American constitutions disappeared, any more than there was a revolution among the small boys because November the Fifth disappeared suddenly and quietly this year.

"If Britain's rulers are going to kick against change—even change that means another type of man in their places—then it will be the end of Britain. Of course, the essential thing is that the best qualities in life survive; it does not matter so much *who* is responsible for their preservation. It is much more likely to be a group of raceless and classless individuals than so-called Western civilisation. Britain is, after all, merely an episode in history.

"And what I am fearing at the present moment is that this Government is going to hold on like grim death, alternatively pandering to or coercing the people; that they will keep their profitable war machine going, and that if there is a truce in this present war they will make overtures to their opposite numbers in Germany (there are still a few, are there not?) and then make a last stand for capitalism against Russia. What then? It all looks pretty grim to me.

"You see, Mr. Bartlett, if, after the 'Great War,' I had seen our own rulers really working for a fine new world for all the peoples, including Germany, and then—*then* Germany had insisted on running a dangerous war machine on the quiet, I should certainly hold that some *collective* body should stop her; but I frankly do not believe in the motives of our Government; they are mixed—but private and economic gain out of this war is one of the biggest.

"So I go on thinking in my damp, slum-like flat; one of the victims of our economic machine. But I am no longer young and do not care for myself; but I *do* care about the future of the young people—that, more than anything else, is what I am breaking my head over."

* * * * *

That it is all "pretty grim" is beyond question. That the League of Nations was not allowed to become a League of Peoples is a tragedy. That we should be fighting this war with more vigour and confidence if our own rulers had really worked for a fine new world is an undeniable truth. But it is also true that the terms on which Hitler, or any of the men he has dragged up with him to power, would make peace, would utterly suppress freedom of discussion. And without such freedom I see no hope of the "education of clear thinking for the people" which my correspondent demands.

We do not claim, in this review, to "educate" the people, for the uncertainties and doubts that result from an inadequate international education assail us all. What we *do* claim is that, by giving as much space as possible to the widest possible selection of views, we are living up to the aims that were expressed in our first editorial even though the war we then hoped to avoid has destroyed so many of the hopes. And that every voice for sanity is twice as important now that the world is once more insane.

"La Lumière," Paris
"Another half-dozen speeches and England is completely destroyed"

"Il Travaio delle Idee," Rome
Uncle Sam's cash store

THE MONTH

GENEVA

NO ONE can view without sincere melancholy the first meeting of the Assembly of the League to occur when Europe is in a state of war, since the Founders of the League hoped that they had found a method of for ever avoiding this traditional method of settling disputes between sovereign nations. Yet an unprejudiced observer must admit that in circumstances so trying that they could have been ridiculous those nations which are still sufficiently civilised to remain members of the League carried out their disagreeable duty of expelling a member of the Council with dignity. And in spite of the jeers in Dr. Goebbels's Tabloid Press, now the decadent fungus of what was once the expression of a fine liberal culture, we detect a feeling of hurt resentment in Soviet Russia, who cannot have desired so notable a disapproval of her wicked aggression. Public opinion still counts in our Western World, but new technical means must be devised to enforce the right.

THE WAR ON LAND

BOTH armies are waiting for the political line-up, because until it comes they cannot find anywhere to fight. Will it come? Or will the diplomacy of the Hitler-Stalin combine prove skilful enough to go on polishing off neutrals by turns without showing their hand and so evoking a larger combination against them? British expectations are indicated by the concentration of forces in the Near East. But the uncertain factor is the prestige of the Red Army and Air Force. If and when this bubble is pricked, everyone's diplomacy will take a new turn. The Finnish campaign so far has certainly robbed the bubble of its brightness. On the other hand, there are signs that Voroshilov was not prepared for a campaign at all, in which case no one knows yet what he can do if he tries. One thing, however, the assault on Finland has achieved, namely the revelation to those who needed it that Russian foreign policy has not changed by a hairbreadth in the past hundred years. There were a good many of the intelligentsia who still contrived

to imagine that the Russian invasion of Poland was inspired by an altruistic desire to safeguard communism for humanity. One might be tempted to be sorry for these people now the last bit of ground has gone from under them, had it not been for the fact that by their allegiance to Bolshevism they set the example for the plutocrats' allegiance to Nazism and have thus incurred a large part of the blame for the present war. The British White Book on the negotiations with Russia in the summer will probably give them another shock. But apart from these ideological scores, what matters is that in so far as world opinion is likely to prevail in the long run, Stalin's position is now appreciably weaker. Not that there is any cause for complacency in this. We must see what Japan and Italy are going to do before we know where we stand. They probably wish they knew themselves. Like us, they are waiting for the line-up.

THE WAR ON THE WATER

THE battle in the South Atlantic, in spite of its ugly sequel, has provided a cheerful reassurance that the pocket type of battleship is not so formidable as it sounded and that the British Navy has lost none of its boldness and skill in tactics. Rear-Admiral Harwood's engagement was in the old tradition of sea fights, of which the English race on both sides of the Atlantic always reads with a thrill, and only the petulant invention of the German Minister in Montevideo that the British used poison gas served to remind the world that the battle was part of a war in which there is not much room for chivalry. One of the chief benefits of the encounter, particularly in its effect on American and other neutral opinion, has been to provide the world with a visible manifestation of those incessant, dangerous and secret operations with which the men of the Royal Navy and Naval Reserve are protecting the economic existence of this country. Such a glimpse was needed, for in the naval sphere German propaganda automatically has the advantage of us. Although every ship that arrives safely in a British port makes a British victory, and although there are on an average seventy-five such victories a day, these are not victories that anyone hears about. Whereas when a British ship, however small, is sunk, the news goes round the world in a flash that the Germans have had a success. Though the Admiralty Press Department might do more to remedy this situation, the "Silent Service" is

evidently aware that the true art of silence under modern conditions is to put words into the newsman's mouth before he can put them there himself. The bluff about British battleships at the mouth of the River Plate (fourteen were whispered to be there at one moment) showed extremely clever handling of the world's news machinery on an issue of decisive importance.

THE WAR IN THE AIR

THE German campaign in Poland presented a spectacle which in the science of war may well prove historical: an air attack in such formidable strength and so perfectly co-ordinated with the land operations that the Air Force may be said to have become a cover for the flank of the Army and to have permitted to it a freedom of manœuvre which had all the outward appearance of utter recklessness. The Polish Air Force though it fought gallantly was outclassed and outnumbered from the very first; within a few days it had virtually disappeared and the German machines were able to concentrate their attentions upon the actual land operations. There appears to have been only one hitch in the plans of the German Air Staff. In the second week of the war petrol supplies broke down and a number of valuable squadrons were immobilised in the very heart of the conquered territory. Had there been any Polish Air Force left, it could no doubt have inflicted tremendous damage upon them.

During the first four months of the Western War all conventional expectations were upset. Both sides undertook long reconnaissance flights over hostile territory; there was a somewhat half-hearted attack by a few machines of the R.A.F. upon Wilhelmshaven during which we appear to have inflicted severe damage on the battle cruiser Gneisenau; various raids on Heligoland and Borkum, one of the principal bases for mine-laying seaplanes; and German raids in weak strength upon the Firth of Forth and Scapa Flow. In one of these His Majesty's Ship Iron Duke (which is no longer a fighting unit of the Navy) was reputed to have been so badly damaged that it was found necessary to beach her. The Germans also claim to have sunk His Majesty's Ship Ark Royal by bombing from the air. It is rumoured that two 500-lb. bombs in the course of one action did burst so close in the sea to her that she heeled over almost to her metacentric and gave the attacking German aeroplanes as they were

being driven off the impression that she had actually capsized. Her recent appearance in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro should, however, finally kill reports of her sinking.

No little nonsense has been written about the inferior quality of the German machines. Let us have no delusions about this. Our comparative success against them is probably due to the fact that the German Air Force was designed primarily for such a function as it so brilliantly performed in Poland, and not to fight in the west. No doubt the Germans are now evolving for this purpose machines of vastly improved performance.

THE WAR OF WORDS

IN spite of occasional roughnesses, the British propaganda engine is now fairly well run in and one can begin to assess the likely performance of what seemed at first to be a ludicrous and creaking monstrosity. The trouble as usual was complacency: having ourselves invented propaganda and won the last war on a moral issue, we forgot that the technique had advanced in the last twenty years and that the British case, however just, can only hope to find a place in foreign newspapers and radio provided these organs are given something to say about it. Nor can the home newspapers do their duty by it if all they are supplied with are essays on themes of calculated unimportance written in the style of a university examination paper. There are signs, however, that some inkling of modern propaganda technique has begun to filter through to the various Government Departments. The Ministry of Information is now largely concerned with the useful work of collecting facts and analysing opinions in neutral countries and passing on the result to the executive part of the propaganda apparatus. The War Office shows a tendency to help so far as it can, and even the India Office has taken to putting out a bright little piece now and then. Meanwhile reports from neutral countries indicate that the policy of telling the truth, though possibly less productive at first, is likely to prove more influential than any in the long run. On the enemy side, Russian propaganda, which has achieved such astonishing success in the past twenty years, has now been finally discredited. The German efforts show more subtlety in their aims than methods, and have already deteriorated under adversity into a note of shrill and whining sarcasm. At the same time it must be admitted that

Lord Haw-Haw's news is selected and put together with great skill, and this is true not only of the broadcasts to this country, but of those which go out to other parts of the world. It is difficult to criticise our replies to Germany. Our native Haw-Haws, appalled at the searchlight cast on their country retreat from a quarter whence they least expected it, have now got themselves labelled secret and so irresponsible.

THE BRITISH FILM

THE general question of British propaganda leads inevitably to a consideration of the British film. Feature films and short films are a valuable instrument of propaganda to their country of origin and the help which American films have given to American industry in developing the European market for export is immeasurable. In England the film industry took long years to recover from setbacks due to the war of 1914 and was at last beginning to recover from its troubles, due to extravagance, incompetence and, even more often, a lack of commercial integrity. An industry was starting which with wise guidance seemed likely to prove of great benefit to the country. British films were growing far more popular than American films, and the cinema owner was eager to have them. Now the war seems to have dealt the industry a severe blow; and even the well-meaning pundits in a certain Ministry not a hundred miles from the once-frequented British Museum Tube Station fail to understand cause and cure. Let us hope that a measure of unity may be achieved by the better elements of an industry which has suffered so much from internal dissension; united only once and then against the Chancellor's tax proposals. A pamphlet written by the enlightened Mr. Sidney Bernstein deserves serious consideration for its good sense and knowledge of the problem; and we hope to examine it in detail later on. England has proved that with right leadership she can excel in any competitive trade and the film need be no exception. As we go to press we hear that Sir Kenneth Clark has been appointed Director of the Films Division at the Ministry of Information. We congratulate all concerned.

CIVIL AVIATION

FOLLOWING the recommendations of the Cadman Report on Civil Aviation, the two leading British air companies, Imperial Airways and British Airways, have, during the last four months, been merged into

a single organisation. This month this organisation will change its official name to the British Overseas Airways Corporation.

The immediate future of British civil aviation does not look as black as might have been expected. When the war broke out it was feared that the activities of the Airways Corporation would be reduced to negligible proportions. Luckily the conflict has so far been localised, and consequently there are still British air routes to France and Scandinavia, as well as to all parts of the Empire. These air routes can be of the utmost use to the country in wartime. Not only are they helping to speed up our export trade, but they are also vital channels of communication with neutral countries. The possibilities of using airlines for propaganda purposes even in peacetime have long been appreciated by the German, Italian and French Governments. It is to be hoped that British air routes will soon be opened to Spain and Portugal, to the Balkans and to many other countries. We need a mercantile marine of the air. Here, as in other fields, it would be gratifying to see still closer co-operation between England and France. Obviously neither the Airways Corporation nor Air France can cover the whole world, but between them they can cover most of it adequately. Internationalism is essential to the success of air-transport services. In the past England and France have been two of the most insular countries in this field.

A GREAT FRENCHMAN

THE Anglo-French Monetary agreement marks a decisive step forward in our relations with France. It is very necessary that these steps should be followed up by a free interchange of goods between the two countries, for the position is still unsatisfactory, and the Board of Trade must make up its mind that the rightful satisfaction of any requests by our Ally to help freer trade must come before any other considerations of policy. We do not want Lyons to suffer as she did when we left the Gold Standard. Above all, however, the parity of the Franc and the Pound is important, because any banker in the last ten years would have considered it impossible and advanced a thousand reasons against it. Too much praise cannot be given to Paul Reynaud, the man whom France has produced in her hour of need. Here is a man who has always preached clearly what he thought to be right; as Minister for the Colonies he travelled far and wide and acquainted himself with the

problems of Transoceanic France. It is no coincidence that the great Lyautey felt a deep admiration for him—"Reynaud—*il pige*."

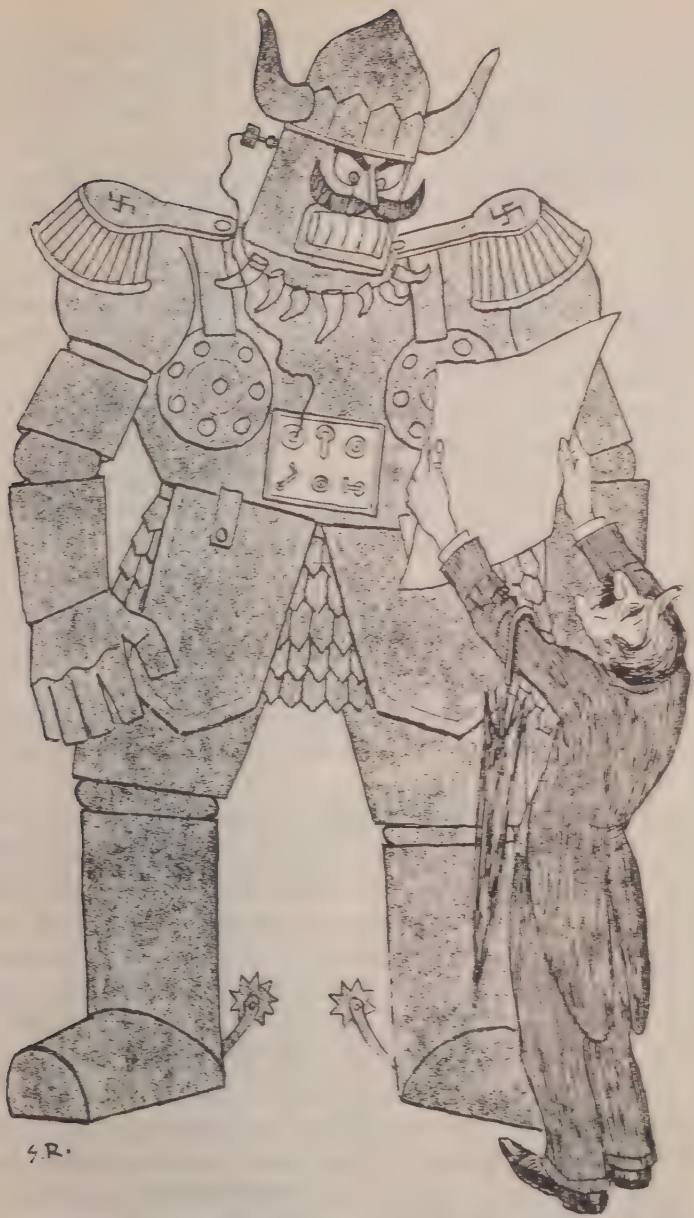
LONDON AFTER DARK

SO much has been written about London after dark that we hesitate to add our observations. But the gloomy pall which descends regularly each day at tea-time affects the lives of the citizens so intimately that it cannot be ignored. There can be no valid excuse or reason for the inadequate lighting of omnibuses and trolleybuses. The drivers, who deserve the warm gratitude of the public, do their duty bravely; but the horrible accidents which occur each evening are not their fault. These vehicles should be allowed sufficient lighting for their drivers to see pedestrians well ahead; it would be the easiest matter for all drivers to be ordered to turn out all lights when an air-raid warning occurs. We must show some imagination and not regard the new toll of the London streets as an inevitable judgment. Meanwhile the electric trains by their flashes illuminate their surroundings brilliantly, and the Thames estuary remains as a sure guide to the airman.

RATIONING IN GERMANY

"With your stocking coponyou'vegot socks. What did you get with your sheet coupon?"
"A handkerchief."

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris



"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

Chamberlain: "Read this pamphlet and you will realise that the spirit is stronger than brute force"

FEDERAL UNION
THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION

AFTER listening to an exposition of Federal Union principles the other night at the Federal Union Club, an impertinent member of the audience jumped up and said all too pertinently: "Sir, I want to know one thing. What is Federal Union?"

Many people are asking this question. They have heard of Federal Union; they have seen articles on Federation in the different newspapers; they have even observed the word in the utterances of responsible statesmen, including the Foreign Secretary. And since everyone who calls himself a patriot is fighting this war in the hope of achieving a new form of society in which civilisation can go forward again, the words Federation or Federal Union have assumed a kind of talismanic virtue, because they are so far the only tangible slogans to which those who wish to work for a better society, but do not know how to do so, can hitch their wagons. There is danger in this, since a slogan is essentially an excuse for not thinking. The question therefore repeats itself: What is Federal Union?

Federal Union at the present time is an idea, which its promoters hope one day, and preferably as an outcome of this war, to see translated into political, social and spiritual practice. This idea has evolved from two premises, one general, the other particular. The general premise is that a stable society is the condition of all good, all purpose and all hope in human effort. The particular premise is that the League of Nations, in its attempt to create a stable society, revealed certain weaknesses which any future scheme to the same end must take into account.

The general premise must seem almost too obvious to be worth stating, until it is considered in the light of the question which arises out of it: how to get a stable society? The answer to this question, as far as history, archæology and anthropology can tell, is governed by an evolutionary process, not Spenglerian or Toynbeean in the sense of being concerned with cultures and civilisations, but as simple and direct as the

evolution of species. This process, when reduced to a principle, defines the fundamental cause underlying the broad changes that have taken place in society since men started to go one better than bees or wolves in their social arrangements; and it also defines that reverse process which continually impedes the general trend of social evolution, namely anarchy. It may be called the Principle of Association.

THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION

1. The term association, as used here, means the grouping together of men under rules which limit their selfishness for the sake of common convenience, but which they nevertheless tend to evade for the sake of their personal independence. The term anarchy, as used here, means the undue extension of this tendency.

2. Men associate to pursue the good. Without association they cannot do this. Thus the hope of human perfectability is linked with the health of the associative system.

3. *The unit of association varies in size with the prevailing degree of communication between men.*

4. The enlargement of one unit involves an abdication or delegation of sovereignty by others.

5. Such an enlargement has no permanence until confirmed by the direct and personal loyalty of the subjects to the paramount unit, irrespective of loyalty to component units. Every unit is primarily an assembly of persons, irrespective of component units.

6. The value men attach to independence, personal or corporate, generally impels them to resist the enlargement of the unit of association. Thus the degree of enlargement tends to lag behind the corresponding degree of communication, and the operation of the principle is thereby retarded.

7. The discrepancy in time between cause and effect thus manifest in the principle produces anarchy. The degree of anarchy prevailing at any moment is governed by the length and degree of the discrepancy, and also by the amount of destruction which men are willing or able to inflict on one another.

8. Anarchy may be mitigated in two ways :
   By a migration of one unit out of the path of another;
   By a code of behaviour arranged between units.

9. Should circumstances prevent the adoption of these expedients, anarchy tends to become not only chronic, but as destructive as the savage part of man can desire and his ingenuity devise.

10. In that event there is no alternative to barbarism but an expansion of the unit of association to correspond with the prevailing degree of communication.

The third clause, that the unit of association varies in size with the prevailing degree of communication between men, contains the kernel of the principle. Exceptions leap to the mind by hundreds. But even if the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been replaced in the age of aeroplanes by a group of mutually destructive sovereignties, there is no denying the fact that the average modern state is somewhat larger than the cave-sheltered sovereignties of the Stone Age or the cities that took part in the Peloponnesian War. As society is the condition of progress, so communication is the condition of society: it is impossible to share institutions with people one has never heard of and cannot reach. Conversely, as soon as one has heard of people and can reach them, there must immediately arise some sort of *modus vivendi,* even if that simply results in the disappearance of one party. But communities do not go on disappearing indefinitely before the strongest. Eventually the *modus vivendi* takes the form of an agreement, and at long last perhaps of a law. Then a sovereignty is established and a society in the proper sense of the term comes into being.

It is necessary to repeat this definition of the unit of association, namely that it is founded in law and that its limits correspond exactly with the area and number of persons over which the law operates in various degrees. What then is a law? A law has three attributes. It must contain a principle of equity, which conforms with the sense of right and custom prevailing among those who submit themselves to it. It must be publicly stated, so that everyone can calculate the result of his actions in advance. And it must be capable of enforcement, if necessary by the use of violence, through the delegates appointed by the sovereign for that purpose. A society cannot be said to have come into being, to possess, that is to say, more than a temporary existence based either on a tyranny too arbitrary to last or a co-operation too nebulous to withstand the assault of circumstances, until it is governed by laws which have these attributes.

The Second Premise

This brings us to the second premise out of which the conception of Federal Union has arisen. The League of Nations failed in its attempt to create a universal society because it possessed no legislative function. The attitude of mind which informed the deliberations preceding the

establishment of the League was essentially a moral one. It was believed after the last war that people would not want war again and that if they did not want war, there would be no war. It was believed further that the way to prevent future generations, who had not experienced the unpleasantness of the last war, from wanting war again, was to teach them that war is wrong. Whether or not these beliefs have been justified, whether in fact the great majority of those who remember the last war remained truly anxious to avoid another and whether the next generation had been successfully inspired with the conviction that war is evil, history must decide. But even if, as seems likely, these beliefs were justified, the fact remains that a mere wish on the part of humanity to abolish war was unfortunately confused with the technical means of carrying that wish into effect. The founders of the League hoped they could found a society without law, not because they were stupid men, but because at that time such hope was in fact the only way of bridging the time-lag between modern communications and the contemporary form of the national unit. The hope failed and we are left to profit by the example.

As a political idea, therefore, Federal Union demands the acceptance of two cardinal principles. The first is that any future attempt to effect a grouping of nations into a larger unit of society must ensure that the Parliament or Assembly set up for this purpose shall be invested with a power of legislation in certain reserved subjects, in other words that the national members of any Federation shall be prepared to delegate a part of their sovereignty to this greater sovereignty. The second is that the members of the Federal Parliament or Assembly, in order that they may be fit to exercise the legislative function, must be by some means or another elected by the peoples concerned instead of being nominated by their governments; for the nominee of a government is in fact no more than a diplomat and is therefore unfitted to legislate in the interests of an extra-national society, because his sole duty is to promote the national interests of his own government.

It can be said therefore that Federal Union springs first from the conviction that unless some kind of extra-national society is now evolved, barbarism will triumph; and secondly from the conviction that no such society can maintain its existence or control the anarchy incipient in human affairs unless it is designed round these two essential principles. The difficulties are great—greater than most people realise. Should the

Federation consist of democracies only? If so, how can it hope to reach an accommodation with the totalitarian states? Is it possible for Britain to federate with a country outside the Empire until the Empire itself is federated? Can any Federation hope to endure unless it contains the United States? And how many years must elapse before the people of the United States discover that an isolationism evolved in the days of sailing ships has become not merely an anachronism but a myth? And so on. Nevertheless anyone who believes that the Federal Union idea, as outlined here, provides the only hope for the future, will also believe that these difficulties can be overcome, for the simple reason that it is not in human nature to give up hope.

The Function of the Movement

The function of the Federal Union Movement and the Federal Union Club is to introduce both the idea and the difficulties to the public, so that the public may eventually take that lead which is necessary to action in a democratic state and may insist that the statesmen in charge shall at least make an attempt to overcome the difficulties and translate the idea into practice. And in performing this function it is not enough to insist on the purely political aspect of Federation. Politics are not an end in themselves; they are a convenience. Civilised man aims at reducing them to a minimum, at eliminating the prerogatives of state and sovereignty from the consciousness of the subjects, in so far as this is compatible with their prosperity and security. If the political structure cracks, then indeed politics must demand the full attention of every citizen, because without a secure political foundation life is negative and futile. Thus Federal Union with its insistence on a sound political technique as a first condition of safety, opens up an escape from politics, a view as it were of a new and fertile country first descried after a long and arduous ascent of a mountain range. The descent will be no less arduous. But once at the bottom we shall there encounter a great crowd of all races, colours, clothes, creeds, customs and allegiances—the sort of crowd described in *Kim* as surging down the highways of Hindustan—where all the wisdom and all the wares of the world are brought to one great exchange.

JUST SO

A well-known actor arrives on the stage of a cabaret in evening dress and muzzle. He just stands on the stage one minute—two minutes—three minutes. The public does not quite know what to think. The compère arrives, explaining: "*After the political part of our programme, we now come to the entertainment.*" The actor has been transferred to a Concentration Camp.—"*Germany To-day,*" *London.*

"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

BEFORE THE LAST MAN DIES AND ALL THE TREASURE IS SPENT

THE PROBLEM OF SECESSION
A Crucial Question

by PATRICK RANSOME

AMONG the many interesting problems which confront the draughtsmen of a Federal Constitution few are more important than the allied questions of accession and secession, as defined in articles which deal with the admission of additional members to the Federation, and with the possibility of withdrawal from it. Clearly the consideration of these matters involves fundamental questions of policy rather than the exercise of mere technical ingenuity. For it raises the issue of the permanence of the federal structure as well as the question whether it is to be regarded as a closed group or as a nucleus for subsequent expansion. Important as these matters are in the construction of a Federation of the type with which we are familiar, they become fundamental when we are dealing with a Federal Union between national sovereign states.

Let us first consider the problem of secession. Are states to be able to withdraw from membership of the Union and, if so, under what conditions? The chief argument in favour of a right of secession is that unless such a right is retained, states will be extremely reluctant to enter the Federation. The creation of a Federal Union of the type we are contemplating is admittedly an experiment in international organisation, and until some experience has been gained of its practical working, it is impossible to foresee how it will affect the particular interests of the various member states. Suppose for example that the economic policy of the Union proved disastrous to the prosperity of Danish agriculture. Is Denmark to be forbidden to leave an organisation which she feels is destructive of her social well-being? The answer is, I think, that so far at least as European states are concerned, the retention of a right of secession would so gravely imperil the harmonious working and indeed the continued existence of the Federation, that states must make up their

minds once and for all whether the prospect of permanent peace is worth the acceptance of a hypothetical danger.

In the first place, a threat of secession would provide a most potent weapon for blackmail in federal politics. Especially in the early years of the Union such a threat might well be used to secure an over-zealous attention to sectional interests, and would tend to hinder the development of federal politics on horizontal rather than on vertical lines.

Secondly, it must not be forgotten that even though the Federation might be composed originally of democratic states only, nothing could prevent one of them going totalitarian by technically constitutional means analogous to the capture of the German state machinery by the Nazis. If such a development took place in an important member of the Union and if that state were left free to withdraw from membership and begin a renewed race in armaments, one of the chief purposes of the Federation would have been defeated. That purpose is to end for ever the possibility of armed conflict between those states that are prepared to make the necessary sacrifice of their cherished national sovereignty. It would be difficult to demand that sacrifice with any sincerity if such security could in any way be threatened. The chief menace to peace, of course, is to be found in the anarchic condition of Europe and while it is essential that so far as European states are concerned the Union must be regarded as indissoluble, it would be possible to give a right of secession to non-European countries. This solution would in a sense be illogical, but it would emphasise the idea of the indestructible unity of Europe, while offering an inducement to the British Dominions and the U.S.A. to share in the task of creating a stable system of international order.

Whereas in most of the existing federal constitutions the question of secession is always recognised as of extreme importance, the question of accession usually receives far less attention. But in the case of a Federation of Free Peoples it becomes of crucial significance. For on the emphasis which is placed on the desirability of attracting new members depends the whole character of the Union. It may be thought of as a means of overcoming the prevalent anarchy in a relatively limited area which is immediately ripe for federation. It may alternatively be regarded as merely a nucleus which will ultimately expand so as to cover the whole surface of the earth; it may be consciously devised as the small

beginnings of a World Federal State. It is essential that we should decide which of these alternatives we are working for, because on that choice depends the whole character of the federal machinery we set up. The economic and military structure of this Union will clearly be deeply influenced by this decision, the direction of which will necessarily be indicated in the articles dealing with accession.

The most extreme form of the "closed group" theory would permit accession only by an amendment of the constitution. As this would necessarily have to be hedged about with many safeguards, admission of new states would be a difficult process. Furthermore, the omission of any specific provisions for admission would indicate only too clearly the exclusive character of the Federation. It would be generally agreed, I think, that the open avowal of such exclusiveness would create a grave danger of the formation of rival power "blocs." Some specific provisions for accession must therefore be included. And here we arrive at the point where the final choice must be made. Are these provisions to be permissive or categoric? Are they to set out a procedure whereby new states may be admitted if the Federation so desires, or are they to declare conditions the acceptance of which would automatically qualify a state for admission? It will be seen that the issue is clear-cut.

If the articles relating to accession are to be procedural in character, then the methods for securing the necessary Federal approval are almost infinitely various. Accession might take place by virtue of a special procedure analogous to that laid down for the amendment of the constitution; it might require the assent of a three-quarters majority in both houses of the legislature; it might be effected by a special majority of the legislature carried in a joint sitting. The alternatives are endless. The point is, however, that while the possibility of expansion is provided for, the decision to expand is left to the Federation itself.

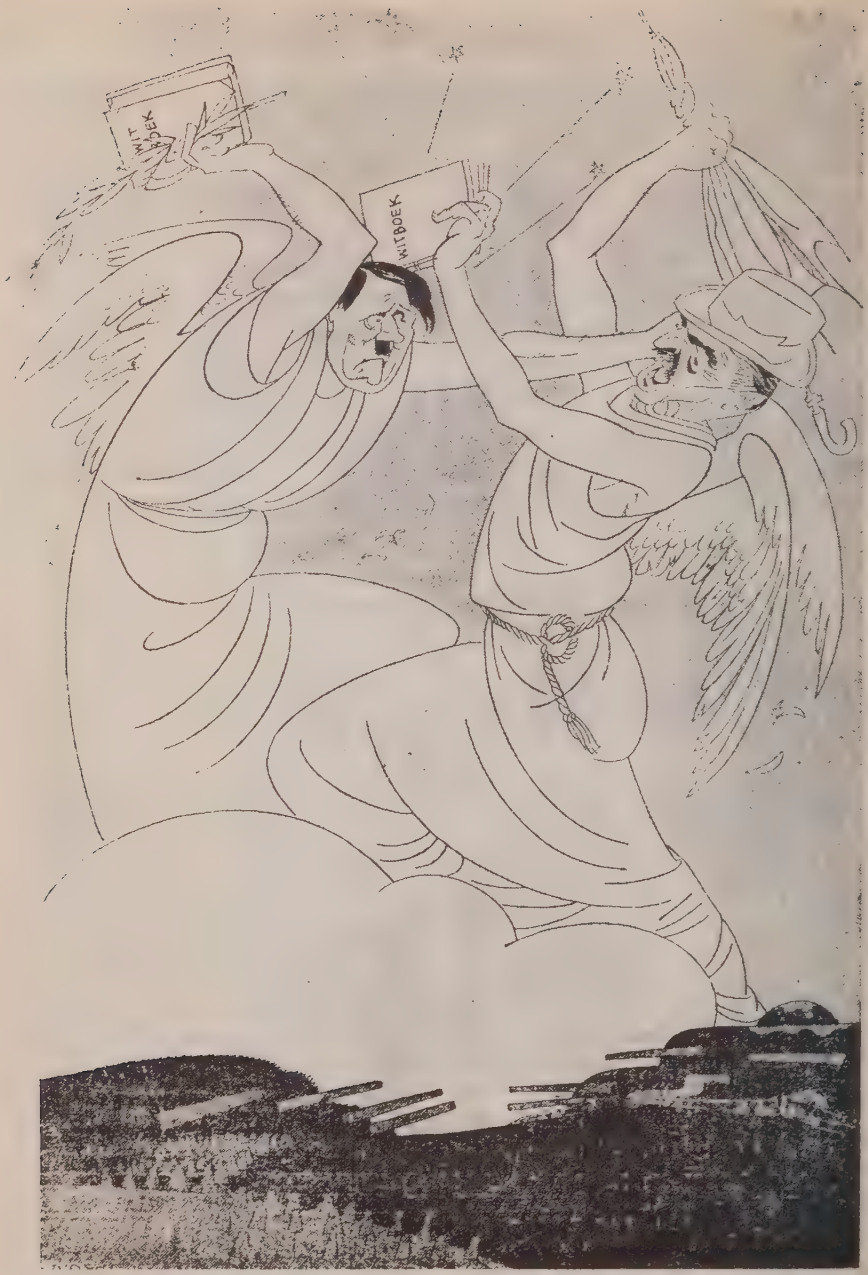
The other course is to lay down conditions the satisfaction of which would entitle a state to enter the Union. The existing members of the Union would have no discretion in the matter. This is the doctrine according to Streit, and represents the extreme form of the "nuclear" theory. It is open to many grave objections. It would be difficult to prevent the European element from being submerged beneath a possible Asiatic flood, it destroys the conception of common cultural heritage as the basis for any satisfactory political organisation, and it might even

prevent the formation of the necessary nucleus because of the inevitable uncertainty of the form that it would ultimately assume, particularly if a right of secession were denied.

The purpose of this article is to state the problem rather than to provide a solution. A possible course, however, would be to lay down conditions the satisfaction of which would establish a prima facie case for admission, while leaving the actual decision in the matter to the Union. States whose accession would be welcomed might even be named in a preamble. This would indicate the intention of the original members to found an organic nucleus rather than a static group, and would throw upon the Union the onus of showing due cause why accession should be refused in any particular case. Admittedly this is a compromise solution —and it has been said that "compromise is the grave of the soul."

THE CATHOLIC VIEW: FR. MARTINDALE'S SUMMARY OF THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL

The Pope dwells on the havoc worked in international relations when any one state arrogates irresponsible power to itself. The bond of vital union between nations is snapped; the Law of Nations is stripped of all its force; men head straight for the violation of the rights of others; peaceful co-operation becomes wellnigh impossible. For the human race is, on the one hand, composed of groups of citizens, of nations and of states, independent as to their interior regime. On the other, it is morally and juridically interknit, and so there must be and are rules of right and wrong international behaviour. Obviously the theory that any one state possesses absolute irresponsible rights is utterly opposed to this universal natural Law. For this Law enacts that each state keep its liberty intact; to each must be ensured those rights which enable it to live and to develop; and treaties, duly entered upon, must remain flawlessly inviolate. This is impossible when one state cannot trust another; when no one is sure whether the plighted word will be kept. The whole ideal is dethroned if a state recognises no rights but its own. Obviously circumstances are bound to change, so that an agreement may no longer work satisfactorily. Then there must be discussion. But not forthwith war. And the Pope repeats that when agreements are regarded as merely fluid and ephemeral, tacitly to give oneself the right, should private interests demand it, of arbitrarily violating them without consulting, or even overriding, the other party, is wanton opportunism and cleaves chasms between the nations that never may be plumbed.



Doetwe "Haagsche Post," *The Hague*

PEACE ANGELS UP-TO-DATE

THE HUMANITIES

THE LOST ART

IN the years since the last war, a great deal of loose talk has been current on the theme that another war would mean the collapse of civilisation; and the aim of all peace movements has been to prevent that collapse by making war impossible. It is not our purpose to argue whether this war, now that it has come, will or will not see the ruin of the present order. But we contend that when a civilisation in the course of a war falls into dissolution, it does so not by reason of the war, but from deep defects of which war is only a visible symptom. Nobody but an imbecile would pretend that if you stifle pain with an opiate, you have killed the disease which that pain announces. Equally, if anything remains of what we call civilisation, when this war has dragged itself to a halt, we will not necessarily save those remains from annihilation by merely taking steps to prevent future wars. Society, we believe, is at the moment menaced with destruction just as much in peace as in war; the gaining and maintenance of peace is a noble enough object, but for us who know too much, it can never disguise itself as an adequate one. The aim of a Ministry of Health is presumably not only the curing of disease but the improvement of the people's health; so our aim must be the keeping of a peace that is not eaten from within by worms.

In the last millennium, Europe has enjoyed two great flowerings of culture, the premature Renaissance that disappeared with Romanesque architecture somewhere about the beginning of the XIVth century, and the Renaissance proper, whose agony we are at present observing. Both were essentially international orders, and it is therefore fashionable to maintain that if you bring the international principle back, you re-establish Utopia. To hold such an opinion is to confuse form with content, the shell with the pearl. The age of Pope Hildebrand or that

of William Congreve were not golden because they were more or less international; the reason for their success lay rather in an attitude of mind that made an international culture inevitable. Unless we can conjure up a similar attitude in humanity, it would be as vain to hope for the birth of Utopia out of Federal Union as for the reforming of a bore just by putting him into diverting company.

The elegant columns of Autun swell into the monstrous asparagus-bundles of Chartres; the glittering precision of Dryden's "Art of Dramatic Poesy" gives way to the phoney Classicism of Pater. It is in such details that we can chronicle the languishing of a culture, not in the Black Death, or the "Noyades" at Lyons. Civilisations die from within; the violent events that mark their passing gestate for decades, perhaps centuries. To a casual glance the XVIIIth century seems the summit of perfection, the French Revolution a sudden beginning to a Gadarene descent that has not yet ended. But if we look closer we see that the age responsible for Mozart and Tiepolo was gnawed already with a fatal canker which left not a decade free from war. Capitalism in its most fatal shape first came in sight then, and with it the trick of measuring Progress by size. Twice as much child labour was employed in English factories about 1790 as had been twenty years earlier; the good merchant breathed joyfully, feeling that there was a tangible achievement; the invention of the spinning jenny and the Enclosure Acts toll the dirge of a polite age far more surely than could ever the Royalist bells that tolled for the King of France's head.

The world-state of Hildebrand's time collapsed because it was avowedly the State of God—Civitas Dei—Whose authority on earth was exercised by a Papacy that could no longer command universal respect. The world civilisation of the XVIIIth century—that order which imposed from Dublin to St. Petersburg a common formula for architecture, decoration, music, conversation, in a word a common scheme of life—fell into decay because it was based on the conception of Man's right to be free, and we have never, though the French Revolution is a century and a half away, made up our minds as to what precisely constitutes freedom.

The Liberals of the post-Waterloo years believed that it meant the right to a democratic constitution on the English plan. But when their goal had been reached, they found with rising dismay that freedom still

eluded them. The Marxists next held the boards with their thesis that the problem was not a political, but an economic one; the material prosperity, however, widely enjoyed in the United States during the Harding and Coolidge administrations did not noticeably breed content; nor did it engender that equable temper without which Liberty becomes nothing but a shoddy property for second-rate after-dinner speeches. In the fat years between 1920 and 1930 what remained of American virtues did not blossom on the rich manure of easy money; instead they were buried deep, and perhaps for ever, beneath such a sandstorm of hysterical greed as has rarely been seen in history. When the inevitable disaster occurred a public which but a few hours since had presented all the aspects of financial solidity took on the demeanour of a panic-stricken Levantine riff-raff in a shipwreck.

In short, we no longer know what we are about, and as the technical possibilities of life increase, so grows the hopeless confusion of our aims. The city, for instance, once a place of safety and exchange, is now a dangerous trap in time of war; in peace fantastic land values and clogged streets render human contacts, commerce, very existence itself as expensive as they are difficult. Inventions, scientific advances, that should render life safe, cheap, and leisured, instead augment the dangers that ring us round, condemn us to the apparently inevitable shame of unemployment, send the beggar to drowse hungrily in the crypt of St. Martin's while coffee raises steam in a Brazilian locomotive, and the herring uselessly killed goes back to stink in the sea.

Where leisure is got, little more is made of it than of the rejected herring. The listless football kicked about the greasy street till Opening Time; the game of polo that spares the rich the need of thought, provides a sort of Apple-a-Day remedy against boredom, speeds the expensive hours towards a well-mannered death, sets up a bastion against the unfamiliar from Hurlingham to Peking. The lives of the fortunate pass in a sly evasion of experience; they protect themselves against it by assuming the ordinariness, the sound, Oh! so sound common-sense of Strube's Little Man, a protective dun colouring with which is daubed the turrets and gables of the Cedars, Muswell Hill.

The Little Man himself, the object of this flattering emulation, is in no better way; daily he is flung with the obedience of a shuttle-cock between mortgaged home and uncertain job—the use of the term

"shuttle services" in the jargon of transport is not without significance; his boss's temper, the rate collector, the overdrawn bank account, the unpaid instalments on the car: all these elements conspire to fill his life with instability and worry. Liberty, as he knows it, is in short a burden very hard to bear; and though he is a decent peaceable man, hating violence no less than he does injustice, as often as not he first finds content, even peace, when he is carried off to war, far from his creditors, and from the terrible responsibility of being obliged to lead his own life.

For these reasons a purely political formula is not, we hold, in itself enough to exorcise the risk of war. It is for these reasons that it is our intention to embrace within the purview of *World Review,* apart from matters of purely political interest, everything that can be said to have a bearing upon what with some hesitation we may call the arts of life, with particular reference to the lost art of leisure. We believe that in leisure, and the ability to consider at our ease the problems that beset mankind, there lies the best hope of solving them. At present the confusion of existence is so great hardly a moment is left for thought; but it is a vicious circle; the less we think, the greater grows the confusion that prevents thought.

We believe a fundamental ill of modern life to be a confusion of cause with effect, the mistaking of the method with the aim, the technique with the object. To take a classic case, science in its narrowest sense is a branch of knowledge, a purveyor of intellectual victuals to mankind; the scientist is certainly no more, and probably much less, essential to us than the shepherd or the fisherman. Yet every means is taken of glorifying the "Wonders of Science," and of making mankind feel small in comparison to them; instead of its being generally understood that science can find its best justification in increasing the ease and convenience of our lives, there still survives a considerable Wellsian-Huxleyan school that would have us find Utopia by a surrender of all government to the scientists.

A state of mind equally absurd is to be observed in societies such as the American Middle Western, where, apart from the standard of money, the level of a culture is estimated purely by its scientific and mechanical achievement. There are many millions of admirable, intelligent people living in the basins of the Mississippi and Missouri to-day who honestly believe that because they possess per hundred souls a greater number of

automobiles, radios, self-flushing privies, and refrigerators than do, let us say, the French, they are "advanced," and the French a "backward" race. When you are among these good-natured bustling enthusiasts, you almost catch the infection of their creed; perhaps, you think, brooding among a waste of chromium pipes and plugs, perhaps plumbing is after all the highest expression of human endeavour; perhaps it excuses the bad food, bromidic conversation, the muddled pretentious towns, with nothing to flatter the eye save a confusing regiment of slick, identical, pretty little faces. Then you cross into Mexico; gone is the clinical cleanliness, the Statler Service, the cellophane armour about the roast chicken. Instead, dogs licking their sores among the dung, Indian women glaring dirtily from their doorsteps, telephone wires trailing crazily in the dust. Then in some white and airy steeple a bell clangs, there is a snatch of some lilting song, obscene as like as not, and you realise that you have come back from a chromium death.

SIMON HARCOURT-SMITH.

THE THEATRE IN WARTIME

ONE thing, at any rate, is certain; that ghastly gilt has rapidly been seen to have been knocked right off the gingerbread. "Young England" is on again, pursuing its machine-gun course of irreverences with unabated vigour (the Russians are not the only people to have and to like their plays in the audience as well as, or instead of, on the stage, it seems), and "An Englishman's Home" put its face imprudently out of the past, only to find itself fading away Cheshire-cat-wise, before the blank stare that Wyndham Lewis rightly says the British "Little Man" knows how to put on when confronted with too much blether and hocus-pocus. Charles Graves tells us, through the *Daily Mail*, to *my* vast satisfaction, anyhow, that the concerts given for the troops in France tend to draw a similar blank with bravado about hanging out washing on the Siegfried Line; and from that teasing, on the whole trying, "Run, Rabbit, Run," the stanzas about Adolf seem to have dropped out already. Too late, too late. . . . Humanity may be on the march again, but basically, it is *not* a war-march; and the one mystery that remains un-

explained is why the Little Man continues to stand for anything of the sort at all; the refusal to puff out the chest and glare I consider to be a symptom of something enormously important. For the time being, it is possible the *New Statesman* may be right.* "To-day, those who own and can manage the aeroplanes and the tanks rule. . . . The next age will be one of centralised power. The individual cannot revolt and will therefore count for less, whether the victory nominally goes to Western imperialism, Hitler's racialism, or Stalin's type of Socialism." Yes, but what if the blank stare wins in the end, and the Little Man himself ends by owning and managing the aeroplanes and tanks? . . . Tanks. . . . Sitting in the vast hot gloom-and-glow of the Hippodrome the other afternoon, I remembered Siegfried Sassoon's noble rage at the sight of stage tanks in "Hullo Ragtime" (or was it "Hullo Tango"?) twenty-four years ago:

> "I'd like to see a tank roll down the stalls,
> Just rocking to the tune of 'Home, Sweet Home';
> And there'd be no more songs in music-halls
> To mock the riddled corpses round Bapaume." . . .

There's a tank in "Black Velvet," too; but its appearance is short, superficial, and sweet, and it opens up to disclose the Gargantuan Teddy Brown and his xylophone that he treats with such expert contempt. I thought of the pink sugar of "The Wedding Glide," the plump flaxenness of Shirley Kellogg . . . *tempi passati;* the one imaginable link between those early Hippodrome revues and this would be the chic, deep-voiced Ethel Levey. "Black Velvet" does not purport to be revue on the grand old scale, admittedly; it is super-cabaret: a soufflé of snappy young women saying or singing fragile things with that contralto melancholy that the American crooneresses have accustomed us to, of acrobats and patter-comedians, of nebulous dancers and even one—what shall I say?—*académie* in the Folies Bergères tradition; all this whipped up by Vic Oliver, whom, somehow, one would like to dislike, but his unplaceable accent is so engaging, his clothes are so well-cut, he is so neatly rude to himself and to us, he is as sharp as ten American "cuties." . . . Ah! I nearly forgot—the link with the past was there, but a link with the florid, tranquil vulgarity of Edwardian or early Fifth-Georgian England, the

*December 2nd.

stout blending so well with the hectic tartness of this champagne; Alice Lloyd, sister of the great Marie, in a reconstruction of the old Café Royal, singing—and there's talent and enunciation, all the warmth and nerve of cockneydom for you!—one of Marie's on the whole less outrageous, but nevertheless candid songs: "Old Iron, never been known to rust, never been known to rust." . . . *That* was the right sort of patriotism. . . .

1915.

THE FEDERAL UNION CLUB

THE Federal Union Club has been formed to assist the aims of the Federal Union Movement by obtaining the support of those who might not feel inclined to join the existing Regional Groups, by providing a London centre for those interested in Federal ideas, and by contributing to the funds of the Movement.

The Club has premises at 101 Piccadilly, where there is a Club Room permanently at the disposal of members, a large room where monthly meetings are held, and a Dining Room where lunch and dinner can be obtained.

The Club is distinct from the Movement. To join the Movement through a Regional Group, it is only necessary to sign a statement of belief in the aims of the Movement. The Club demands a subscription of one guinea a year, but no statement of belief, since it hopes to include members who, though not convinced that a Federation of States is possible or even desirable at the present time, feel that the idea ought to be inquired into and the public made familiar with it.

Any inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary at 40 William IV Street, W.C.2.

THE COSMOPOLITAN

It is to film-producers, baccarat-professionals and *cocottes* that the word "cosmopolitan" is now most usually applied; and there seems little hope of restoring its fine, original sense. Yet for us to become citizens of the world is not merely the ideal of a civilised philosophy, but the only remedy for our present discontents. Unless Man can become cosmopolitan, he will be obliged to emulate the mole or the turbot, and spend most of his life burrowing beneath the ground or shrouded in the sand at the bottom of the sea. Cosmopolitans are rarely to be found among politicians, judges, or clergymen. Journalists are often cosmopolitan, but not, alas, their millionaire employers. Trades-unionists, though usually deprived of the advantages of travel, often show a cosmopolitan conscience by contributing to the help of their fellows in other countries. But the most conspicuous cosmopolitans of our time are the artists—especially painters and musicians. Writers, if they are intelligent, usually consider themselves citizens of the world, but they necessarily work in a medium—language—which is not cosmopolitan. Music, architecture, sculpture and painting, on the other hand, speak in an international language such as Latin was and Esperanto seeks to be. Usually the practitioner of these arts retains a national accent, and nobody would mistake Sibelius for an Italian, Modigliani for a Swede, or Maillol for a Russian. But such an accent does not interfere with our comprehension, and may even add to our pleasure. Matisse and Stravinsky have had a profound influence all over the world, and we enjoy the Frenchness of one, the Russianness of the other. The artist, then, is the prototype of the cosmopolitanism to which we look forward. We do not want a Europe in which houses and clothes and food and ideas are everywhere identical. We want a Europe which is conscious and proud of that tradition which goes back to the Roman Empire; which even in the Dark Ages could spread a splendid style of ornament from the Bosphorus to the Atlantic, from Sicily to Sweden; which even to-day leaps past frontier-guards and allows the Englishman to enjoy Beethoven which is being played in Hamburg. The idea of Free Trade has been increasingly despised, and the name of Cobden now raises a cheap laugh. It is thought sensible to bring to this island bad wine from the Antipodes rather than good wine from Burgundy and Bordeaux.

Two of the greatest powers, Germany and Russia, exhaust all the resources of tyranny to prevent Free Trade even in the Arts and Sciences. Beauty and knowledge have long headed their list of forbidden imports. Even in this country we need to resist milder but insidious attempts to make us as insular culturally as we are geographically. But Free Trade persists, and it is our highest business to make it persist. To me the most moving experience of this war was hearing, among the vacated frames of the great Italian altar-pieces in the National Gallery, Schubert *lieder* sung in German by the sublime Gerhardt. I wish our propaganda authorities would induce her to sing on the wireless, and her compatriots, listening, would know that we had remained good Europeans. Even in Berlin

to-day there are men and women reading the plays of Shakespeare, even in Leningrad there are men and women looking at reproductions of the paintings of Matisse. The world of Art, with its universal language diversified by local accents, has all of us for citizens, when we contemplate architecture and painting, when we listen to poetry and music. To model upon this unfrontiered world the common or quotidian world is an aim as sensible as it is difficult. The materials for its construction are evidently faulty and too few. But in putting to the best use inadequate materials artists again set us an example; for in effecting this, their principal resource is not their idealism, but their severe sense of reality and of the inconvenient facts.

RAYMOND MORTIMER.

MUSIC TO-DAY

ON October 8th the London Symphony Orchestra gave the first London orchestral concert of the war—an afternoon concert which was to be the precursor of many afternoon concerts in Queen's Hall. Other societies soon followed suit (the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the London Symphony Orchestra claiming most of the Saturday and Sunday afternoons), while the Royal Philharmonic Society (which labours under a series of peculiar tribulations unknown to other societies) was not able to open its 128th season until the middle of November, and had to be content with Thursday afternoons—not a very popular time with concert audiences. At the same time the Society inaugurated as a sideline a series of Sunday afternoon concerts at Sadler's Wells Theatre—some of orchestral and some of chamber music.

In the meanwhile Miss Myra Hess and Sir Kenneth Clark, by a stroke of genius, started a series of lunch-time concerts at the National Gallery which proved to be an immediate success—and a success which still continues.

At Sadler's Wells the public-spirited Director of Opera, Mr. Owen Mase, gathered his company together and opened the theatre on Saturday afternoons. This proved so popular with the opera-going public that the theatre is now open, in addition, on Thursday and Saturday evenings.

I have not mentioned the British Broadcasting Corporation; but as this august institution has withdrawn to the West Country and from any public concert-giving activity, it would be only polite to leave it in the indecorous obscurity where it at present sees fit to remain.

KEITH DOUGLAS.

BOOK REVIEWS

ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE THROUGH THE AGES

HOMES SWEET HOMES. By Osbert Lancaster. *Messrs. John Murray.* 6*s.*

OXFORD. By Christopher Hobhouse. *B. T. Batsford, Ltd.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE title of the first of these books is sufficiently indicative of the kind of spice we shall find within. *Homes Sweet Homes* is a worthy sequel to Mr. Lancaster's recent *Pillar to Post.* Whereas the latter threw a fascinating illumination upon phases of English architecture from Norman down to recent times—more especially recent times—the new work covers in a few pages the history of interior decoration over the same extensive period.

The publisher's note on the jacket good-humouredly postulates that about taste

there should be no disputes. I profoundly disagree, and so does Mr. Lancaster. In no other branch of social good manners does the public require more careful tutelage. Mr. Lancaster has the wisdom to understand that the most efficacious beginning is by poking fun at what the public already regards as sacrosanct in matters of taste. In the entertaining medium, peculiarly his own, which he has chosen, lies his strength.

Mr. Lancaster's enchanting illustrations speak for themselves. Their detailed elegance is as distinctive of the Post-Pre-War period as are Aubrey Beardsley's line drawings of the age of Oscar Wilde and Ernest Dowson. The author is infinitely happier in rekindling the, alas, not extinct flavour of more recent fashionable tastes, more mischievously appreciative of the artistic vagaries of the late 19th and 20th centuries than of the niceties of the earlier and serious styles. He is always, for instance, just a little too pragmatic about Elizabethan and Jacobean decadence. It is, incidentally, a pity for us that he has overlooked the Neo-Gothic of the 18th and 19th centuries, surely more indigenous to England than, say, his favourites, continental Baroque and Rococo, whose heyday was after all not reached in this country till the ephemeral advents of Norman Shaw or the Ritz Hotel.

Oxford, As it was and as it is to-day is an ambitious book, but it is not the author's fault that the too small and close printing has been made to conform to the publisher's standardisation.

Mr. Hobhouse takes the history of the University City period by period, devoting one chapter to Oxford as it was and the following to what now remain of the buildings of that period. The subsidiary and architectural chapters are by far the more instructive, for Mr. Hobhouse has a keen understanding of and erudite taste in architecture. The history of Oxford that matters (from the historian's point of view) lies presumably in the early and middle years of the University. Now every amateur historian is bored with the mediæval, and Mr. Hobhouse is no exception, with the result that the reader is tempted to skip a good deal of historical data which he suspects the author himself recorded from a sense of duty only. On the other hand Mr. Hobhouse warms to his history as soon as it is concerned with colossal personages, men after his own heart, of the calibre of Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Laud, to say nothing of Charles James Fox. Then he becomes interested and fluent. He will also revel in the patrician hedonism of 18th century Christ Church. In fact, he feels at home with the "rich and profligate," especially if they be titans to boot.

His criticism of modern Oxford is on the whole perspicacious, although not a few may be disposed to quarrel with some of his old-fashioned aristocratic prejudices, such as Ladies' Colleges, Leftists, and talk of "toggers" and "heats."

J. Lees-Milne.

SPIRIT OF BRITAIN

THE FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH PATRIOTISM. E. Wingfield-Stratford. *Routledge.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

NEW HOPE FOR BRITAIN. Olaf Stapledon. *Methuen.* 5*s.*

Both these books are pleasantly written and they give the reader the feeling that he is thinking things out in the company of really nice men. I have long admired Dr. Wingfield-Stratford's charming style and his rare ability to write history as though it were really exciting. His latest volume is in the nature of a recantation of views expressed in his younger days. He sums up its tenor thus:

"We shall never understand our British, or English, or Commonwealth

civilisation, if we try to sentimentalise about its development. We must contemplate it in all its ugliness and callousness and smug self-complacency if we are to fathom its strength."

In this mood Dr. Stratford retells our history and searches for the underlying values of British society. He finds them not in the blatant patriotism and imperialism of the Diamond Jubilee, not in the corruption of the Whig Oligarchy, but in the patient humanity and kindliness of that social life which lies below the level of politics. Dr. Stratford has his prejudices and does not disguise them. His book has the downright virtues and vices of the English character which he admires.

Mr. Stapledon's politics are a long way to the Left of Mr. Stratford's, but the fundamental values which he recognises are very similar. His little book, written perhaps in too simplified a style to please the man in the street for whom it was intended, tries to set out a plain analysis of our problems and a plain solution of them. A Liberal Socialist by temperament, he feels himself antagonised by all the political parties, and like thousands of us pines for a political party which could revive and modernise the old Radical anti-imperialist movement. I wonder whether, after recent events, he would plead with equal fervour for co-operation with the Communists. It has been a defect of "Progressive" people lately that they have tried to unite those who believe in liberty with those who do not. Such a unity is bound to be superficial, and I fancy that Mr. Stapledon has far more in common with Dr. Stratford, far less with Mr. John Strachey, than he believes. There is far more real unity between British Conservatives (not politicians, but voters) and British Socialists than between Socialists and Communists to-day.

TRAVELLERS' REST

THE LOCAL. By Maurice Gorham. Illustrations by Edward Ardizzone. *Cassell.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

"THERE is a tavern in the town, in the town. . . ." Yes, but where? Everywhere, Mr. Gorham assures us. Heaven be praised for one rich old characteristic of London that the necessity for alcoholic and other sustenances against the reigning damp prevents from being swept away. And yet, even into the celestially Hogarthian atmosphere of the classical pub the blight of modern Puritanism has managed to creep. I like Mr. Gorham's story of the "Two Chairmen" in South Bruton Mews, a small pub at a "creeper-clad corner," with "outside it, a sort of glorified bulkhead in which a cobbler worked, this being famous as London's smallest shop." After passing through a series of strange avatars owing to the demolition of some of the pleasantest 18th century houses in London and the construction of that (unprintable) Berkeley Square House (on which may bombs rain), it ended with doors gone mediæval and Tudor roses springing from the walls, a "class pub, fit for the Air Ministry." Yes; where are the plush and the bosomy barmaids and the loud talk and laughter of yesteryear? Perhaps only Douglas Byng knows. Mr. Gorham opines that "people must be terribly fond of drink to drink at all" with the white-jacketed males that have replaced the amiable Hebes. His book is a mine of useful information, has a most complete glossary (I am glad to find he condemns "Red Biddy," which undermines the legs first and the brain later); it does not pretend to cover all the ground (how could it, in so slim and elegant a volume?), but it renews one's exploratory zeal and makes one thirstier than ever. Mr. Ardizzone's illustrations are charming, in spite of a certain mono-

tony of colour-scheme and a touch of Lovat Fraser.

GERMANY'S MOMENT OF VICTORY

THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK AND GERMANY'S EASTERN POLICY. By John W. Wheeler-Bennett. *Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No.* 14. 3*d.*

EARLY in 1918 the Germans had defeated Bolshevik Russia. Lenin, sent back by the German High Command to consummate the revolution in Russia, had done his work, and was prepared to buy peace at any price. So the two parties, Imperialist Germany and revolutionary Russia, met at Brest-Litovsk to negotiate a treaty, and the world was shown an instructive sample of the kind of peace which a victorious Germany would impose.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's booklet, one of the excellent series being published by the Oxford University Press, is a condensation of the salient facts in his standard work on the subject, *Brest-Litovsk, the Forgotten Peace* (Macmillan, 21s.). It is a model of brevity, lucidity and vivid story-telling. It is particularly interesting to read at this point, after the partition of Poland and the shipwreck of Germany's ambitions in the Baltic States, since it clearly reveals the aims of Germany, unchanged whether proclaimed by the Kaiser's General Staff or Herr Hitler.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk forced Russia to renounce sovereignty in favour of Germany and Austria-Hungary over Russian Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, Estonia, and the islands of the Moon Sound. To Turkey she had to cede Ardahan, Kars and Batum. She was forced to recognise the independence of Finland, the Ukraine and Georgia, and to make extensive reparation payments in goods, bonds and gold. "The material achievements of the Supreme Command," says the author, "were very alluring. Within their grasp were the occupied provinces of the Baltic, ready to be erected into semi-independent States subject to German domination. Before them stretched the fertile lands of the Ukraine, whence grain and meat would be forthcoming for hungry populations. . . . In addition, the treaties made by the Central Power at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest gave them access to the oil-wells of Azerbaijan and Rumania."

A few months later and this rosy prospect had faded in the grey dawn of Versailles. And now, twenty-one years later, the Leader of Great Germany has handed over to Russia more than half Poland, conquered with German blood, and withdrawn all Germans from the Soviet-dominated Baltic States. Stalin has revenged Lenin, and still has his Master's trump card up his sleeve—the Bolshevik revolution in Germany.

It is early for the Western democracies to indulge in any display of *Schadenfreude.* Although he is speculating on the result of a defeat of Russia by Germany, and not of a voluntary partnership, Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's closing words are still a valid warning. "An industrialist Russia exploited by the organising genius of Germany," he says, "conjures up a vision which no Western European can contemplate with equanimity. But in 1918 the will-o'-the-wisp of ambition lured Germany into a slough of dilemmas from which she could not extricate herself. The rest of Europe remembers what Herr Hitler may have forgotten, that disaster followed in the train of glory."

A section of the booklet is devoted to the Treaty of Bucharest with defeated Rumania which followed Brest-Litovsk.

ALISON OUTHWAITE.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR,—Inevitably the idea of Federal Union in some form catches on in the world chaos of to-day. It needs no seer to tell us that the day of the "Sovereign State" is past, that it is no longer possible in days of wireless and aeroplanes to organise mankind in separate national units which took shape to suit the era of the stage coach and which were out of date by the time railways and telegraphs were grouping men economically into larger units. Inevitably Federal Union in some form attracts us to-day, since only by federation can the cultural union of a nation, which is its heart, be reconciled with the large scale economic and political organisation which is its necessary structural framework. Sometime, clearly, we must have the international government that some of us hoped to create out of the League; sometime we must pool national armaments and end the era of private war; sometime we must plan our economy in such a way that no group of men in one area can dictate the quantities and price of the goods that we all need whether we live in Timbuktoo, London, Chicago or Chungking. The desire of all men is for freedom, for security and for peace and for plenty. There is no known way of combining these except through some form of federation.

What are the obstacles? So many that no one but a fool will glibly talk of federation from this war as men talked of the League as the basis of permanent peace during the last war. That fundamentally liberal philosophy from which the idea of federation springs is challenged to-day by doctrines which refuse all compromise. Men imagine something like another conference at Versailles, this time more realistic and idealistic and capable, after a democratic victory, of shaping the world closer to their hearts' desire. It may happen; but to-day I see a far more fundamental revolution as the more likely alternative. Even if that revolution, to which in my view this war is no more than incidental, were prevented and victory also achieved over the Totalitarian conception which menaces us, even then can one see such a scheme animating the victors after years of infinitely destructive war? It is remotely possible. Can we hope that a federation of Europe giving security to ten million Czechs and twenty million Poles side by side with seventy million Germans and a hundred and eight million Russians? It is remotely possible. I could long continue the list of difficulties, basic in their nature, which stand between us and such a settlement, even if we see, as I think unlikely, a military victory such as happened in 1918 and even if the rulers of France as well as those of Britain and of other nations (an immense supposition) should have been converted by experience to the state of mind of the American Federalists in the infinitely easier circumstances of the eighteenth century. Even so the concept of a federal Europe is more easy to imagine than the dream of Clarence Streit, which sees Finland and Holland and Sweden and India all in a Federation with the United States, Britain and France, while Germany and Russia remain outside. For these and other reasons I fear, as Mr. Wells fears, that idealists may again lead the peoples into an illusion and a dream if they urge what is theoretically a true solution but one which will be accepted by the heads of States only if it seems useful as a means of "maintaining morale" while

very different thoughts are in their minds. It may come; it will not happen soon or as men hope.

To-day we know that a revolution is going on in the trenches and in the black-out; it will take shape and decide the future. That future will not be a return to the Europe of 1914 or 1919 or of 1939; what it will be I do not know. If it is to be a better future it will include at least some of the basic features of federalism—economic planning, super-national authority and cultural and individual freedom. That, to-day, is as much as an honest man may say.

Yours, etc.,

KINGSLEY MARTIN.

SIR,—The failure of the League of Nations is so conspicuous that it is clearly necessary to replace it by some more effective international authority. Federal Union, entailing the surrender of national sovereignty, has caught the imagination of large numbers of enthusiastic and progressive people. No one can deny its appeal, or the force of the wide general argument which points to its being the hope of the future. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to ignore the immense difficulties that surround its application in a period when the idea of nationality has so strong a hold upon mankind. It may be as well to draw attention to a few of the problems involved.

1. It is certain that the United States will not join the Federation. In that case, if you confine the membership to democracies, you once again divide Europe into two antagonistic organisations.

2. Is the federation to be closed to Russia, China and India? If not, the membership of the Federal Parliament will be dominated by countless millions of illiterate voters.

3. Are you, like President Lincoln, going to deny the right to secession from the Union? If not, a nation whose interests are attacked will walk out of the Union, as they did out of the League.

These are no minor problems, but greater than all of them is the force of national tradition, creating values by no means ignoble or uncivilised. To realise what other nations will feel, imagine what we shall feel ourselves when we are asked after a thousand years to pull down the flag from the British fleet, and to hand over to others the colonies we have created. It is essential that the supporters of Federal Union should face these difficulties.

Yours, etc.,

ESHER.

SIR,—It was said many years ago that if there had not been an Austrian Empire it would be necessary to create one. I believe that would be equally true to-day, and a real Danubian Federation would have prevented the present war.

The case is as strong for a Federation of all Europe. The little States, geographically speaking, were created in the days of dispatch-riders on horseback and stage coaches.

They were just large enough to be administered by these means from their capitals.

The railway age showed they were too small for efficiency, and the aeroplane age shows up still more clearly the utter absurdity of these artificial boundaries.

When, in addition, extreme Nationalism is one of the most fruitful causes of quarrels and war, the time has come when Europe must federate or cease to be the centre of world culture.

This need not mean the suppression of national characteristics any more than the long overdue Union of England and Scotland has suppressed the individuality of either the Scots or the English.

Yours, etc.,

STRABOLGI.

SIR,—When Plato and Marx devised communities, they at least did not fall into the Fascist or Shintoist or Alice in Wonderland error of devising a law first and studying the people afterwards. Federal Union would do well to remember that example. In nature, the only laws which are successful are those which have been evolved through millions of years, and the only sure way of speeding up human evolution is to propose new methods of progress based not only on theoretical concepts of law and anarchy, but on historical analysis of human behaviour.

In a pamphlet sent to me by the Federal Union Club, I am told that a law above nations must be established. Secondly, I am told that a means of establishing this law must be devised. Thirdly, that support for this concept must be encouraged in nations other than our own. Fourthly, that this concept must be translated into practice through the medium of popular opinion and electoral procedure. I grant all these things, but in precisely the reverse order.

I would suggest to Federal Union that it turn its attention to two tasks, both analytical. The first, by way of clearing the international field of weeds, is to examine the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations. The second and fundamental task is to examine, preferably first of all within the bounds of our own nation, the basic conditions and maladjustments of the lives of ordinary people.

For me to make any dogmatic pronouncement on what the results of this analysis will be would be to stand self-condemned for having violated my own principle. But I can make suggestions in both cases, based on the rather unusual opportunities for investigation which I have had during the past few years.

First, the League of Nations. In 1918 the politicians had the concept at their finger-tips. Mr. J. R. Clynes, for example, in an election speech, said: "We must establish such a league of nations as will make future quarrels a matter for peaceful settlement round a table, without any resort to arms." The world was overflowing with such phrases. Where then did the mistake come? I would suggest that the League of Nations failed because the politicians did not study primarily the interest of their peoples as human beings, but adhered to their pre-war political right of controlling in the name of their respective nations all territorial and financial matters. This is almost a truism, and has been amply documented by "Vigilantes" in his book *Between Two Wars,* but I state it because the moral that I believe must be drawn is not that Federal Union must therefore devise a new concept of International Law, but that it must aim first of all at making this country a true democracy, economically as well as politically.

Secondly, then, our own democracy. I do not deny that the fact that in this country every adult man and woman has the right to vote is a great and honourable thing. It should be. The people of this country have fought for a thousand years to get that right. But I do suggest that this political power of the people is rendered ineffectual by the fact that there is no economic democracy whatever. Sir John Simon, in a recent speech, said that there were 10,000 people in Britain with incomes of £10,000 a year and more. Now it is probable that a number of people honestly earn these incomes, and if that was all there was to it, I would be content to let the matter rest, with the brief suggestion that it is unfortunate that the discrepancy is so great between £10,000 a year and the coal-miner's £2 or £3 a week. But there *is* more to it—the simple fact that the wealthy man, by virtue of his wealth alone, acquires the political importance of thousands and millions of ordinary voters, and thus

undermines the whole structure of democracy. The wealthy man can build a hospital, or construct a barbaric mining-camp to house his workers; he can inherit a newspaper and intrigue with Hungarian princesses for Balkan thrones; he can buy a seat in Parliament with not much more difficulty than he buys a box at the opera. It is idle to detail the number of ways in which he can not only interfere with genuine public opinion, but can actually sway the lives of those poorer than himself. I am not suggesting that redistribution of wealth is a panacea, or even that the present inequality of wealth is the root of all evil, but I do suggest that Federal Union will get nowhere in its attempt to establish world order on a democratic basis until it has faced up to this problem which is fettering the peoples of all nations.

We know that this is potentially an age of plenty; we know that science has harnessed nature and that there can be goods enough for all. Yet I can bring you men from South Wales and Durham and the Midlands and Clydeside who for ten years have had neither a job nor a real livelihood. Their vote is their only means of publicity, apart from the often negative actions of their Trade Unions. In this democratic country they are dumb; and it is little satisfaction for them that sometimes they attract the well-meaning sympathy of the Press Lords. They need freedom to order their own lives, and a reasonable access to the means of production. An internal reconstruction of our country could be the prelude to a new world order, but without that reconstruction I see not the slightest hope of any order more permanent than the unfortunate League of Nations. Let Federal Union reverse the numbering of its aims, and it will at once have introduced internationalism into politics, and human realities into theoretical internationalism.

I am, sir, yours truly,

DONALD ALEXANDER.

From a speech in the House of Commons by Mr. Richard Law, M.P.

I AM one of those who are interested in the idea of a federal union of Europe. I believe such a thing is possible. I do not believe for one moment that it is a panacea or that it will immediately work a cure in the international situation, but I believe that it is the only solution which has been put forward so far that really tends to grapple with the essential problems in the European scene. It is the only solution, it seems to me, which recognises that, through the developments of modern science, there has been such a shrinking in the European society that the continuance of independent national States, with their whole sovereignty intact, has become impossible. To my mind, it is the only solution which holds out any hope whatever of solving that great problem which was a problem after the last war and which will no doubt be a problem after this war; that is to say, the problem of reconciling the French demand for security against German aggression with the British demand for restoring Europe as quickly as possible to a normal condition.

We all of us know that we are fighting to preserve, not for England alone, but for the whole of Europe and the world, the legacy which has been handed down to us from Greece, Rome and Palestine. We all of us know that this is probably our last chance to preserve it, and that unless we can not only win this war, but secure a stable Europe after the war, we shall probably never have another chance, and this precious legacy which is common to all the peoples of the Western world will perish and be forgotten.

FEDERAL UNION DEVELOPMENTS

FEDERAL UNION came into being just before the Munich agreement, informally after a series of discussions in a public house. In the words of the earliest leaflet its founders put out, it arose from a sense of alarm at the apparent hopeless drift towards war. Its founders initiated a snowball scheme among their friends, but for many months they found little support, and although they succeeded in getting a number of important contacts, it was not until Streit's book *Union Now* was published in the spring that any large-scale public interest was aroused. The idea proposed in Streit's book was in essence the same as that of Federal Union —a federation of democratic states to form the nucleus of an eventual world state. After the publication of this book it was possible to talk to a good number of people about Federal Union without being regarded as a madman, and by midsummer it was possible to hold a week-end conference in London which was attended by between three and four hundred people from all over the British Isles. This conference was addressed by Lionel Curtis, Wickham Steed, Dr. Joad, and Mr. Kingsley Martin.

Thanks largely to the amount of propaganda which had been done in previous months, hundreds turned to Federal Union as a solution which was to be brought forward at the end of the war. Membership jumped rapidly from an average of ten a week to forty a week, and now to four hundred a week.

By the end of September another conference was held near Oxford, attended by representatives of thirty-five groups, together with the men and women who had served as a Panel of Advisers to the founders. At this conference it was decided to include among the objects of Federal Union the insertion of its aims into as many statements of peace aims as possible. A provisional Council was elected and instructed to draw up a constitution.

Since then the movement has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. There are over 150 groups in the country and membership is increasing rapidly. By the end of February at latest it is planned to hold a delegate conference to ratify the constitution, and to place the organisation in the control of a representative Council. In the meantime its affairs remain in the hands of the provisional Council elected at the end of September, which consists of Sir William Beveridge, Mr. Robert Byron, Mr. Charing-Pearce, Dr. Hamilton Fyfe, Dr. Lancelot Hogben, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Mr. C. D. Kimber, Mr. Richard Law, M.P., Sir John Orr, Mr. Patrick Ransome, Mr. Derek Rawnsley, Mr. Henry Usborne, Mrs. Barbara Wootton.

Groups vary greatly in size. Some, such as Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Oxford, have very strong committees and a large membership. Birmingham, Bristol, London and Merseyside have a Council to co-ordinate the activities of the groups established in their area. As the number of groups grows more area councils will be formed until the whole country is covered by a network of groups co-ordinated under area councils working in touch with the Head Office, so that the movement may be a power in the political life of this country. Those interested may join by writing to 44 Gordon Square, W.C.1. They will then be put in touch with their local organiser.

CHARLES KIMBER.

THE FÜHRER'S FÜHRER

From "Die Neue Weltbühne," Paris
(German Emigré Journal)

We have frequently printed extracts from General Haushofer's "Zeitschrift für Geopolitik" in these pages. Here we have a revealing account of the important part played by the General in forming Hitler's foreign policy

EVEN admirers of the German Chancellor admit that he is fundamentally an unoriginal politician. Every point in his programme is derived from some outside source or other and anyone who examines these points critically must confess in addition that the total result is a mechanical joining together rather than an organic structure: Silberer Bielolaweck plus Pan-Germanism plus Houston Chamberlain plus Prussian barrack mentality plus Mussolini. But this, like the whole Hitler philosophy, concerns Hitler's friends; our concern is to find the man who must have taught this politician without an idea of his own. When we know the teacher, we shall know what to expect from the pupil, for, to agree again with his admirers, once Hitler has fallen in love with an idea he will force its accomplishment or try to extort it with monomaniacal stubbornness.

The name of the teacher is Haushofer. All that Hitler has achieved or will achieve in the future is, in every essential, the programme of General and Geopolitician Karl Haushofer.

Geopolitics are a new science, a new mode of political thought. This at least is the opinion of Professor, formerly General, Haushofer of Munich University. The chief characteristic of this method is the fullest possible use of economic-geograph factors. Such ideas are, or should be, common to every theory which seeks to explain history in terms of the effect of environment on man. They certainly belong to Marxist Sociology and its offshoots. This Haushofer allows; but, in distinction from the Marxists, he stresses ethnographical forces as equally important elements in the historico-political summing up: Marxism lacks spiritual cohesion; geopolitics must provide this and so bring it in touch with reality again. Since Hitler came to power, blood and soil have been

considered the strongest motive forces making for political development. But what the geopolitical General failed to see was how grossly materialist his philosophy would become through the adoption of these two physical substances, and how obscure. It was bound to make the development of his theory problematical, since no one could explain how blood of this or that racial type could be the source of a unique political dynamism.

Considered in the light of Geopolitics, this development has taken place: world economy was destroyed in the Great War and will never recover. Nations formerly bound together by industrial ties are now

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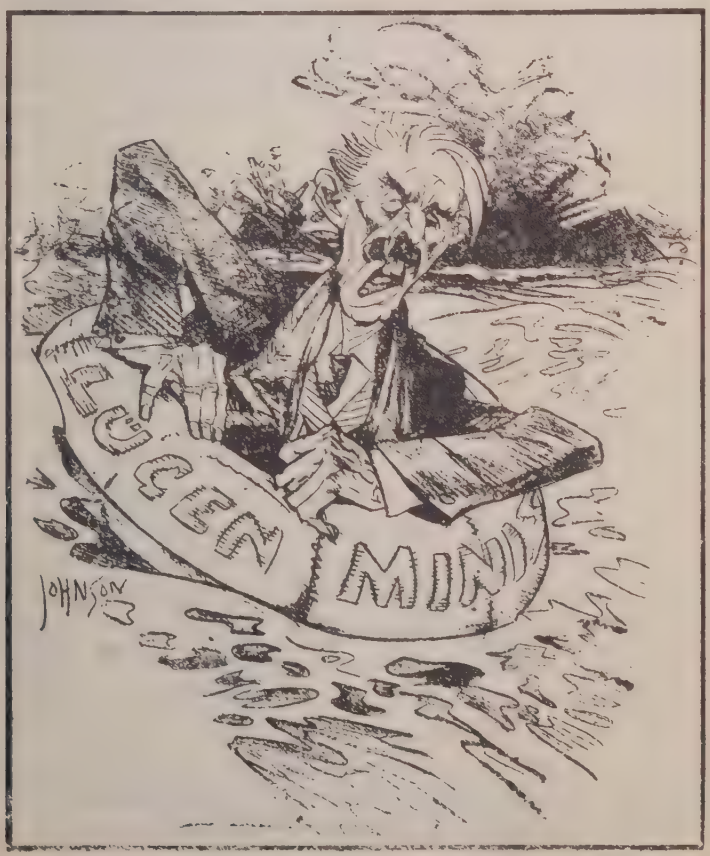
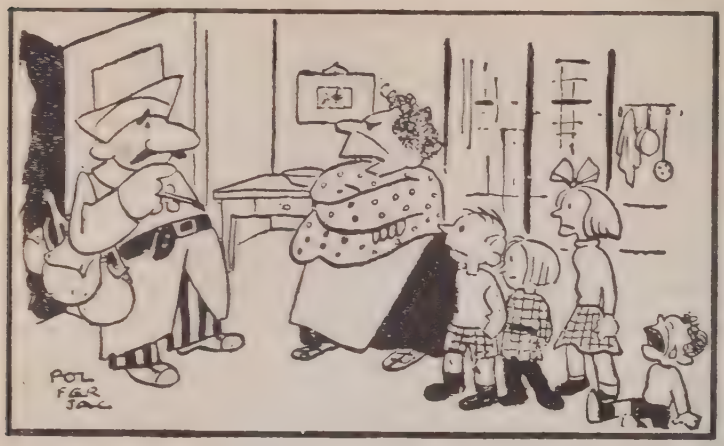
A NAZI JIBE

Chamberlain's Lie Lifebelt.



"Kladderadatsch," Berlin



DEMOBILISED

"You were always the same—never could keep a place."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

more isolated and are trying with increasing success to isolate themselves entirely. It became unprofitable for the defeated countries, and in particular for Germany, to obtain raw materials, since manufactured goods were no longer wanted in exchange for them. In the meantime, a new system had been growing up: the much desired, though not universally practicable autarky, i.e. a series of self-contained economic systems, each territorially limited. It is possible for the boundaries of a state and the boundaries of a relatively self-contained economic area to coincide. This is the case in the U.S.A., the British Empire and the Soviet Union—if they want it. If united, Belgium and Holland, thanks to their colonies, could achieve it, and so almost could France. But Germany could not, and this fact according to Haushofer was the root cause of her ruined economic system. In the same way, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and the Balkan States were fit neither to live nor die; they could not achieve autarky and did not even make an attempt to do so. It is not necessary that the economic *Lebensraum* should be entirely isolated. Fragments of the old-world economy are bound to encroach on the new system exactly as the forms of early capitalism survive in the late capitalist period.

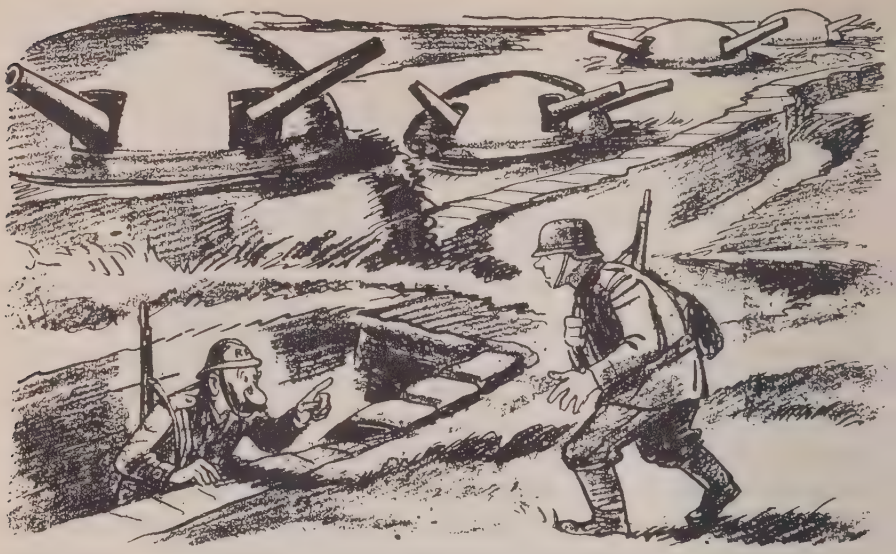
What happens when a nation's territory is such that it cannot achieve the ideal autarky? The countries necessary for the creation of a self-contained economic area must be unified. Since Hitler has made successful conquests Haushofer gives his policy its right name: conquest, absorption, annexation. The old general has dismissed the

professor; even if a country is to be spared military annexation, it must at least, by monopoly agreements, assist Germany to achieve economic self-sufficiency. As to these countries themselves, they are the very ones which, lacking autarky, can neither live nor die: Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Jugo-Slavia. Even their frontiers are not the limits of German penetration; the Ukraine is to be the outpost of the economic German unit.

But these economic aims require a corresponding ideology. Haushofer knew that only the direct beneficiaries would stand for these political and military adventures; the majority had to have them disguised with Right, Morality, Freedom, etc., otherwise its support would be unwilling in the extreme. It was here that the old Pan-German formula had its use. On every acre that had to be conquered or unified there were Germans living and still more Germans had lived in the past, even though during centuries of military rule and petty business they had been assimilated to the Latin, Czech, Ukrainian or Polish populations. For some years in his own paper, *Geopolitik,* Haushofer had been publishing falsified ethnological maps for propagandist purposes and there, set out in black and white, one can see that Brünn for example, an industrial centre with a population of 200,000 Czechs and 40,000 Germans, counts as a German town. One can see even that as far back as 1937 Prague was included in the German *Lebensraum.*

"Le Canard Enchaîné" *Paris*

The Führer's order: "General von Eselkopf will fall gloriously on the field of honour this evening at 17 o'clock."



"Il Travaso delle Idee" *Rome*

ON THE MAGINOT LINE

"Have you filled up the form stating the object of your visit?"

For a long time Haushofer would consider no colonial plans; no advantage would accrue to Germany from them. His assistants Maull and Topf disagreed; and Haushofer changed his views and adopted a policy of demands for the return of colonies backed by force. The possibility of the union of the coloured races had to be considered and Germany would be better able to fight such a danger if she had colonies of her own.

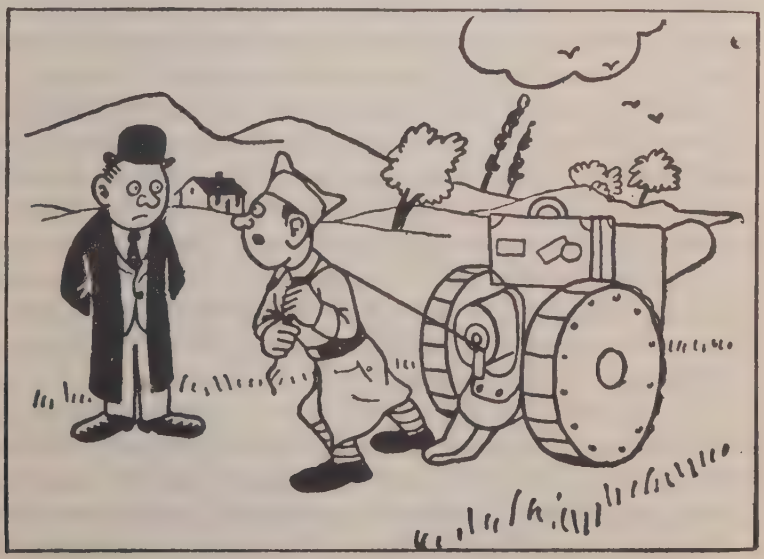
For a long time Haushofer was not clear whether an attempt should be made to get back Alsace-Lorraine. Now it is not only Alsace-Lorraine that he wants; he has discovered that Germany stretches much further into France. Graf Gobineau had testified to the survival of a Germanic population on French soil; and the maps in *Geopolitik* illustrate how widely German culture has flourished in France: there are German race groups in Normandy and throughout the centre right to the Pyrenees. What, according to the Geopolitician's historical novel, was once true can come true again. It is precisely Hitler's business to see that it does.

We have, however, read all this before, somewhere else. In *Mein Kampf* of course, the identical phrases even though they may have a different foundation or none at all. Is the General-Professor a plagiarist then or at best a docile parrot? On the contrary. Haushofer thinks, plans, suggests; Hitler copies and obeys. Until the Munich Putsch, he read a great deal: diatribes against the Jews and Marxists and Nationalist catchwords. During the happy time of his imprisonment he wrote parts 1 and 2 of *Mein Kampf,* in which he states the outlines of his programme in foreign politics. How did he achieve enlightenment so suddenly?

His prison companion and present deputy, Hess, was Haushofer's pupil and assistant in the geopolitical faculty of Munich University and when Hess was in the Landsberg prison Haushofer, who was a friend of the Governor, came to visit him. It was through Hess that he met Hitler. At first he mistrusted him, having heard unfavourable judgments of him from his academic friends, e.g. Prof. Clemens Bäumler and Prof. Max Gruber, the former President of the *Vaterlands-Partei.* But he trusted Hess and visited him constantly in prison; and on each occasion he held, as it were, a geopolitical class. Hitler attended these and in this way came into possession of a foreign policy.

THE ARTILLERYMAN ON LEAVE

"I just thought I'd take a little homework back with me."



"Le Canard Enchaîné."

4

SAVED BY STALIN
How Hitler's Worst Foes Changed

By Willi Münzenberg

From "Die Zukunft," Paris, 10.11.1939

One of the advantages Hitler gained by that doubtfully advantageous betrayal of himself—the pact with Stalin—was the immobilisation of the Communist opposition, within and without the Reich. How vital the change was is told here by a German emigrant opposition leader

THE German (Communist) Party claimed the leadership of the Defence Front against the Nationalist Socialist warmongers. In innumerable official documents and resolutions they correctly stated that German National Socialism was the most dangerous, the most criminal and the most loathsome type of all reactionary movements. At the 7th Congress of the Comintern Dimitroff characterised it as reactionary in the highest degree, a brutish Chauvinism, a government of political bandits, a system of provocation and torture: as mediæval barbarism and cruelty. In the same speech he said, "Fascism in foreign politics is chauvinism in its most brutal form. Its aim is to arouse an animal hatred for other nations. German Fascism plays the part of the shock troop of international counter-revolution, of the instigator of the imperialist war." . . .

An article in the *Volkszeitung* (prior to the pact) said that the true character of National Socialism, as described by Dimitroff, had at last been recognised even by the German working class. In spite of propaganda, the working class felt no hatred towards the Poles. On the contrary, they felt a growing sympathy with these threatened people.

The article ended with the resolve that Hitler's war against Poland should be developed into the war of the German people against Hitler. In the same number Franz Dahlem wrote, "Hitler and the war-axis—they alone are the war-mongers."

The printer's ink was still wet and the paper was not yet in the hands of its readers when, at the word of command, the *Volkszeitung* was forced to deny its judgment, damn its former opinion and crucify and burn its gods. Why? The balance of economic, political and civil power in Germany was still the same. Or, rather, exploitation had in-

creased, suppression had been intensified, and the Terror had become still bloodier. At the outbreak of war thousands of workers had been arrested and the axe was still used, only more frequently and more cruelly. In spite of this the German Communist Party suddenly gave up the ideological struggle against the Nazi policy of internal terrorism and external aggression. The reason was only too obvious: Russia itself had become an aggressor, against Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. This was why it had suddenly become impossible to call the aggressor an aggressor or the wolf a wolf; this was why the German Communist Party was forced to box its own ears in public and spit in its own face.

There would be little in this to interest the general public had it not taken place at the same time as the most fateful and the meanest betrayal in history, one that is without parallel in the records of the working class movement.

The Revolt Was Planned

The abandonment by Russian order of the fight against Hitler as an aggressor and instigator of war has had fatal consequences for German and international socialism; for Germany and for the whole world.

This abandonment was the greatest help that Hitler could have had; without it he would no longer exist. The whole policy, the propaganda of years, the inner formation of the working-class party was all directed to a general settlement of accounts to be held on the first day of the war. In many parts practical preparations had been made. And the best and most active of the workers, former members of the illegal communist cells, together with the working-class masses and heartened by Russian support, were prepared to institute action against the prime war-monger and, as the *Volkszeitung* of August 20th had rightly said, to turn the war against the Poles into the civil war against Hitler. This possibility, the only one envisaged by the underground army in Germany, was destroyed by the change of front ordered by Russia as a result of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

The Hitler-Stalin Pact broke the force of illegal resistance in Germany and, in doing so, brought confusion right into the ranks of the bravest German workers. And it alone thereby saved the Nazi system in those first months.

A new movement must be created in Germany, without the pernicious connection with a foreign power. Hitler is, and will remain, for us and for every German worker the chief warmonger, the one man guilty of this war, the leader of a bestial chauvinism, the chief of the political banditry, the regime of torture and provocation, the Public Enemy No. 1. We shall try by every means to bring about his defeat and destruction and the defeat of his friends and helpers, direct and indirect, open and hidden.

LIGHT AND LEFTISH

Light reading for relaxation and stimulating fare for thinkers both found a place in a list of 1,300 book titles compiled for the Services by the National Book Council, at the request of the War Office. The catalogue was provided for the use of people wishing to send books to serving friends or to the Red Cross Hospital Library. Confident of the mental stability of British Tommies, the Book Council recommended arch-enemy Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* Leftish Allan Hutt's *Post-War History of the British Working Class,* and revolutionary Karl Marx's classic *Das Kapital.*—*"News Review,"* London.

Dublin Opinion.
"I prefer this inner tube—it's guaranteed for 8,000 miles—and that ought to get me somewhere."

INSIDE ITALY

After Finland—the Balkans?

By the Rome Correspondent of "Die Weltwoche" (Zürich), 8.12.1939

WILL it be the turn of the Balkans after Finland? This is the question which, in view of the surprise Russian attack on Finland, is occupying the thoughts of large numbers of Italians; it is more than understandable that it should. The reason why the Soviet advance on Finland has made so strong an impression on Italy and on the whole civilised world is above all the fact that this is the first occasion on which the Soviet Union has taken steps to propagate Communism not as before by peaceful methods only, but also by armed force. Much has been talked in the last few years of the so-called World Revolution; many believed that this revolution was an event that might happen any day, the result, as it were, of touching an electric switch. They did not realise that it was a *process* that was in question, one that had begun towards the end of the World War and since then had grown, slowly but surely. The average citizen, however, who cannot see beneath the surface of current events, requires visible signs. The attack of the Communist armies on democratic and peaceful Finland is just such a sign. The World Revolution is on the war-path; it no longer progresses with propagandist pamphlets and diplomatic intrigues, but with fire and sword. It is no longer a vague conception, but is becoming more and more a highly practical and military concern. And this surely is enough to arouse the interest of Italians and to fill them with the deepest apprehension about the developments of this Communist military offensive.

Not that Italy has an exaggerated idea of the military value of the Soviet army or is in any way afraid of Soviet military power. Italians are fairly well informed about the very doubtful military value of the Red Army. When it marched into Poland and the Baltic states several Italian journalists had the opportunity of observing it at close quarters and assessing it accordingly. Thus a few days ago the Turin paper *Stampa* published a dispatch from its correspondent in Talinn in which, under the heading "The *Tovarichi* have arrived," he described the entry of the Soviet troops into Esthonia. He described their equipment

and their motorised weapons with considerable technical knowledge, but so unfavourably, creating such a disastrous picture of Soviet military power, that the issue of the *Stampa* was confiscated out of courtesy to the new Russian ambassador in Rome. The *Stampa* correspondent went on in his dispatch to describe the appearance and clothes of the Red soldiers. Some were almost in rags; they often had no socks, no shirts and, especially, no underclothes. Some had brand-new overcoats and uniforms, but these were made of such poor material that the Red soldiers after a shower of rain looked like caricatures of soldiers. The Italian journalist discovered in addition the important and much-conjectured-on fact that the Russian soldiers have now, exactly as in the past, absolutely no technical or mechanical sense. They have no notion of how to deal with their motorised weapons. If a tank or a gun has the slightest defect, they simply leave it to lie by the roadside. His final statement is that they treat their motorised weapons as children treat their toys; they lose interest in them as soon as they cease to function properly and to be amusing.

Italy is certainly not afraid of the Bolshevists as soldiers; she is afraid of them quite simply as incendiaries. There is certainly something symbolic in the fact that almost all the bombs dropped by Russian airmen on Helsinki, Viipuri and other Finnish towns were incendiary bombs. Exactly as the Red airmen set the towns they attacked on fire, so the Communists of Moscow are trying to set the states of Europe on fire, particularly those next door to them. The next on the list, as is only logical, are the Danube and Balkan states. This is no longer a panic statement about the dangers of a more or less distant or uncertain future. No naïve illusions about Stalin's methods or ultimate ends can be entertained after the so-called "friendly understandings" between Russia and the Baltic states. To-day, with the tragic example of Finland in front of us, such dangerous illusions are out of place. To-day, there can be no doubt about the true meaning and ultimate direction of the great Communist offensive against the West, which began on the outbreak of the present war. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Finnish people, Finland is bound, by some means or other, to be defeated. Then it will be the turn of the Danube and Balkan states. All this is now certain. The only question is the time; and that really is simply the question, which of the Danube and Balkan states will Moscow first turn its attention to? This question is, however, of only

secondary interest to Italy, who has, as is well known, been making strenuous and so far successful efforts during the last months to preserve peace in the Balkans. The only thing which concerns Italy is recognition of danger and the resolution to meet it. As far as one can judge the situation, Italy is not lacking in either.

Italy's second concern is to convince the Danube and Balkan states of the necessity of co-operation between themselves for defence, and to strengthen in them the belief that, in the present situation, Italy is their chief support. The Russian attack on Finland obviously strengthens Italy's hand in this respect. In an article in the *Telegrafo*, a paper well

LONDON LIGHTS IN THE FOG

"St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

known to be inspired by the Italian Foreign Office. Italy's attitude to the new situation is most instructively set out by the publicist, Anslado. He maintains that the Italian policy towards the small states is against any of the large territorial changes in Europe that have lately been proposed. In these times, which are so critical for the small nations, since they are being destroyed one after the other, Italy has preserved so firm a sense of moral proportion that she has conscientiously kept all her promises towards the small states of Europe. But in the great plains of northern Europe, far from the Mediterranean, small, highly civilised, orderly states are being suppressed and absorbed by all the technical and propagandist means at the disposal of the great powers. While progressive Finland—to take only an example—is attacked to-day, bolshevised to-morrow and Russianised the day after. Italy acknowledges to the fullest extent the right of Albania to preserve her own national individuality, her own civil institutions, her own language and her own culture. The Italians, declared Ansaldo finally, were proud of this contrast between them and other nations: it was the best propaganda they could have in distant parts of Europe, where recent events had been like a terrible, frightening nightmare. Throughout the Balkan Peninsula, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, statesmen and peoples alike were terrified by the intimidations and invasions of which Finland is the latest victim; and they know that of all the friendships open to small nations the friendship of Italy is the least demanding, the most peaceful and the one that offers most.

Italy's main aim is to unite under her own friendship the Danube and Balkan states for their own self-preservation (a conception which is far from meaningless to-day), and so to strengthen them against the coming Russian offensive.* At the same time there can be no doubt that, if necessary, she is determined to give her policy the requisite practical emphasis.

A few days ago the Rome Radio made the expected declaration that, should Communism attempt to make headway in the Balkans as it had in Spain, Italy would meet it there. It is common knowledge that in Spain Fascist Italy met Communism with armed force. This announcement from the Rome Radio can only be interpreted to mean

* *This intention, i.e. to form a Balkan bloc, has, however, been later disclaimed, notably by Count Ciano in his speech on December 16th.*—EDITOR.

that, were Russia to attack one of the Danube or Balkan states, Italy with her whole military strength would immediately hurry to the help of the victim of Bolshevist aggression. The Danube and Balkan states that consider themselves most likely to be attacked by Russia are Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Of these, Rumania and Hungary, on account of the unsolved problems of their Russian frontiers--Bessarabia and Carpathian Russia—are permanently prepared for a conflict with Moscow. On the other hand, Bulgaria has the greatest internal Communist danger of all the Balkan States; and, given a pretext to intervene, Moscow would, here as elsewhere, not hesitate for an instant. For these reasons, and because she has the tragedy of Finland under her eyes, Italy's looks are turned more than ever towards the threatened Balkans. And she is firmly determined to do everything in her power to ensure that here, at least, no more small nations shall become victims of Russian aggression.

HOOTS V. HEILS

London announces that an African Gold Coast tribe gave "three hootings" to Hitler after the case of Great Britain had been stated by their chief. Another great gain to be added to those vicious pamphlet attacks.—*"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.*

USEFUL INFORMATION

Some misconception has arisen regarding the Commercial Inquiries Section set up by the Ministry of Economic Warfare. It has had no lack of applications for information, but some have been of the wrong kind. For example, its advice has been asked on how to smuggle jewellery out of Belgium into the United Kingdom.—*"Times," London.*

ANOTHER SECRET WEAPON?

Bulgaria has also been able to find a market in Germany for acorns and plum-stones, which were previously unmarketable. Germany is taking large quantities of acorns for an unknown purpose, and for consignments of plumstones the Reich has agreed to pay £300,000 in the coming year. Plumstones are commonly believed to provide an ingredient for some special explosive of German invention.—*"Times," London.*

THANK GOODNESS WE HAVE NO VOLCANOES

Edinburgh authorities fail to sound alarm in German air raid, and Naples authorities black-out Mount Vesuvius with smoke screen in air raid drill.—*News Reel, "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.*

INDIA: BRITAIN'S ACID TEST

From the "New Republic," New York

DURING the last war, Great Britain made a promise of self-government for India. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, made a declaration to that effect in the House of Commons on August 20th, 1917, and then went to India to work out a plan with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. In the past twenty-two years, a little progress has been made, but not much. The provinces, as distinguished from the native states, have provincial Legislatures with elected members and with control over certain functions of the local governments.

The subjects that are still reserved to the British Raj are, however, more important than those which the Indians now control. The majority of those Indians who are politically conscious consider that the promise given during the war has been betrayed and that the reforms instituted do not constitute genuine self-government. It is because of this feeling that Mr. Gandhi has been fighting for twenty years by his sometimes extremely effective weapon of non-co-operation, and that Mr. Nehru and the other more aggressive leaders of the National Congress have continued their efforts.

To all supporters of the Congress, it came as a slap in the face when the Viceroy recently announced that the subject of dominion status for India is adjourned until after the end of the present war. In the previous struggle, India got a promise that was never carried out; this time, she doesn't even get a promise.

It is not surprising that the Congress has told the eight provincial Ministries controlled by its members to resign in protest. Even the National Liberal Federation complains of the Viceroy's statement, saying that he offers no time limit, even after the end of the war, and gives no suggestion as to what "dominion status" may embrace.

India to-day is in a sober and realistic mood. The agitation for complete independence has been tempered, in recent years, by Japan's imperialist aims and by the possibility of enforced inclusion in the U.S.S.R. Bad as British rule has been, not many Indians, so far as we can judge, would willingly exchange it for even a veiled control by Japan

or Russia. India, in other words, is in a mood to co-operate loyally in the effort to work out a genuine status of reasonable autonomy within the Empire.

Hitler is far more unpopular with educated Indians than Kaiser Wilhelm was in 1914. India as a whole is prepared to do her part in the war.

In the face of such an attitude, for the Viceroy to say bluntly that there must be no discussion of dominion status until the war is ended is a blunder of the magnitude of a crime. This is especially true when he did not accompany his ultimatum by any suggestion that pending this decision, India would, of course, be spared the necessity of contributing to the war. On the contrary she will be asked to give men and money on a heroic scale. The postponement works only one way: Indians are permitted to pay and die for the Empire, but they are not allowed to consider control of their own affairs within that Empire.

Ideals or Loot?

The development in India is doubly disturbing because of its effect upon neutral world opinion. German propaganda would have us believe that this is not a war between ideologies, but between empires, that England is fighting, not for democracy, but to preserve the encrusted loot of centuries.

Britain, of course, denies this, if not through the mouth of Mr. Chamberlain, then through the numerous mouths of editors, writers and lecturers who direct their special attention toward the United States. They are unanimously sure that Britain is fighting for an ideal, an ideal which she shares with us, an ideal which justifies our giving her all possible aid.

Yet there could hardly be a clearer test of Britain's intentions than her treatment of India. If the Viceroy's word remains the final one, millions of people throughout the world, and in the United States in particular, will feel that the pretensions under which Great Britain has announced that she is fighting have a singularly hollow sound.

FAR EASTERN MOVES
Over the Body of China

From "Far Eastern Service," London

Hitler is still trying to bring off his masterstroke—a world-wide anti-British line-up between Germany, Soviet Russia, Japan and Italy. Japan still sits squinting on the fence, with one eye on Moscow and the other on New York: Italy remains coldly hostile to Bolshevik Russia. In the meantime, Russo-Japanese, as well as Japanese-U.S.A., trade negotiations are in progress. Here we give a note by a journalist who is an authority on Far Eastern questions

ALTHOUGH Japan has her hands very full in China, she still has sufficient nuisance value to make her favours worth courting. One of the most interesting conjectures is that given in a Tokyo paper, the *Hochi Shimbun,* which lately predicted that Soviet Russia would recognise a puppet Government under Mr. Wang Ching-wei as the legitimate Government of China, the price to be paid for this favour being Japan's undertaking not to oppose the Sovietisation of north-west China. As a matter of bargaining, this is not at all incredible, though Japan has so often and so fervently told the world that she was only fighting to protect it from a fatal flood of Bolshevism; but it is questionable whether such a pact as this would buy off the opposition of the Chinese Communists.

The Japanese writer seemed to think that the offer to Russia was a very attractive one, but Soviet Russia's influence is strong already in the region mentioned, and Japan has frequently shown during the past two and a half years that she is much more afraid of Russia attacking her than Russia is afraid of being attacked by Japan. It is true that since Japan took possession of Manchuria (in all but name), Russia has found it expedient to maintain a well-fortified frontier, which she never troubled about before; and if Russia undertook to recognise Japan's camouflaged sovereignty throughout North China, it would not greatly increase her influence in the north-west, though it would necessitate

fortifying another thousand miles of frontier because of the Japanese on the other side of it. The Japanese have always pretended that it is very dangerous to have a weak neighbour; the Russians, on the other hand, have found that frontier incidents and disputes were things that could be ignored when the Chinese were the other side of the border, but that when the Japanese confronted them, military posts and concrete forts were necessary.

NICE
RIPE
FRUIT

Sapajou,
"North China Herald,"
Shanghai

It must be confessed that the Japanese do not attempt to spread any convincing camouflage of independence over Mr. Wang Ching-wei; that unhappy man is photographed from time to time in the company of Japanese military officers, as though he were a notable prisoner—which, in fact, is just about the position that he holds. As the Japanese, even though they do not effectually occupy most of China, as they claim to do, are able to move about pretty freely, under the protection of their soldiers' bayonets, they make diligent use of propaganda, and set on foot a multitude of stories of dissensions among the Chinese, in the hope that they will be able to create embarrassing diversions. The point that they seem to miss is that there have always been dissensions among the Chinese, and that it is to the Japanese army that belongs the distinction of having created a really united China. . . .

General Chiang Kai-shek, whose position it is the constant endeavour of the Japanese to undermine, is kept in his position by Japan's implacable hostility. The Japanese show very little perspicacity in making Wang Ching-wei submit to the indignity of being photographed with Japanese officers and then giving out the photographs to the Press. Wang Ching-wei always had a very high reputation in republican China, and even when he broke with General Chiang Kai-shek and tried to make peace terms with the Japanese, he was still recognised as one of China's leading men, and could have had a great following. But when he threw himself into the arms of the Japanese, that was the end of him so far as China was concerned.

ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Mimeographed inflammatory handbills were scattered in front of the Hongkew Market during a busy market hour on Tuesday, on the occasion of the Double Ten celebration.

The anti-Japanese handbills were issued by the Shanghai Group for The Extermination on General Principles of Chinese Traitors.—*"North China Herald."*

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